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PHILEMON

Wm TO *Wells*

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A CONVERSATION with HORTENSIUS,
upon the Subject of *False Religion*.

In. which is endeavour'd to be shewn,

That the best Key to Men's RELIGIOUS OECONOMY
is the Observation of their *Natural Temper*;

AND

That every Instance of FALSE CONDUCT in the *one*, is to be
resolved into some *corresponding* Peculiarity in the other:

With a more particular Application to the Case of an EXTRA-
VAGANT DEVOTION.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Sermo oritur, non de villis, domibusve alienis:
Nec, male necne, Lepos faltet: sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, & nescire malum est, agitamus——

HOR: Sat. Lib. II. Sat. 6. ver. 71.



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PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES.

&c.

IAM sure, my *Hydaspes*, I need no Apology for calling off your Attention a while from the gay pursuits of the Town, to give you some share in those calmer Pleasures in which *Hortensius* and I have been engaged since I left you. You are not of the Number of too many polite People, who know no Entertainment beyond what Crouds and public Scenes can give them; but stepping aside sometimes from the Noise and Hurry of a more exposed Life, can with a much *truer* Relish of Happiness enjoy *yourself* or your *Friend* in private. It is your peculiar Felicity to have *united* two Characters, which many mistake for *Inconsistent*,

sistent, because so rarely found *together*, the *Philosopher*, and the *Gentleman*. This is a part so natural to you, that whether I have attended you in the mixed and fashionable Societies of the World, or in the select Parties of Men of Letters and Erudition, I have never been able to determine whether you have better accommodated yourself to the *Pleasantry* of the one, or the *Severity* of the other; for indeed you have been universally caress'd and applied to as the very Life and Spirit of both. I wish, methinks, for the World's sake at least, *Hortensius* had a little more of this happy Popularity of Disposition. 'Tis pity his great Worth should be known only within the Circle of a few particular Friends. It seems a kind of public Injury in him to conceal the many valuable Qualifications he is Master of in Shade and Obscurity, which ought rather to be made conspicuous for common Benefit. But *Hortensius* is inflexibly resolved to pursue his retired Course of living——and after all, 'tis a *pardonable* Fault at least, since it is perhaps the *only* one to be found in his whole Character, that he is not enough liberal of the good Influences of it.

WHEN I went some time ago out of Town, it was, as you know, to make this excellent Person a Visit. As you have often

often heard me express a more than ordinary pleasure in his Conversation; I dare say you are not without a Curiosity to know upon what Points of any moment it has chiefly turn'd, during my stay with him.

THE first Evening that I reach'd the agreeable Scene of my Friend's Retreat, I found him sitting at the end of a favourite Walk in his Garden, with a Book in his hand; and so seemingly intent upon what he was reading, that I had got near enough to speak to him, before he discover'd any thing of me. Upon my calling him by his Name, he rose up in haste, and coming eagerly towards me, embraced me with that natural flow of Good-humour, and Openness of Soul, which distinguishes the genuine *Sincerity* of the *Friend*, from the counterfeit *Complaisance* of the mere *well-bred* Man. As soon as our first interview was over, what *grave Moralists* (said I) *Hortensius*, were you conversing with just now, who had so ingaged your attention, that you saw nothing of me as I came along the Walk, till I discover'd my self, by speaking to you?

PERHAPS (return'd he) you will not be of opinion my Studies were so very *serious*, when I tell you it was a piece of *English Poetry*

Poetry I was perusing, and a *late* one too,
côtinu'd he, smiling——

THE *Essay on Man* (said I) as usual, I suppose, or some of the other *moral* Pieces of the *same* excellent Author: for, to say the truth, there are very few other *modern* Performances in the *poetical* kind, which I can imagine a Man of your sedate rational turn of thinking would be likely to bestow so serious a review upon. Our latter Poets have seldom risen higher than bare *Amusement* at the best; *pure Description* for the most part *holding the place of Sense* with them *, till the celebrated Author of the *Essay* appear'd on the behalf of the long injur'd *Muses*, and undertook to rescue them from an Imputation too commonly thrown upon them by Men of *severer* Thought, of being become like too many *others* of their *Sex*, little better than *agreeable Triflers*. He indeed, 'tis on all hands confess'd, has abundantly re-establish'd their sinking Reputation; has rais'd the sacred Name and Office of *Poet* to its original Credit and Dignity; or in his own beautiful way of expressing it,

*Turn'd the tuneful Art
From Sounds to Things, from Fancy to the
Heart †.*

* Mr. *Pope's* Epistle to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, line 148.3

† *Essay*, Part IV. lin. 389.

In him the *Philosopher* and the *Poet* go hand in hand, and you have all the Use and Instruction of the best prose Writing convey'd to you under the additional recommendation of the most graceful and polish'd Numbers. Excellent Restorer of the true *poetic Character*! which one, who well understood it, has represented to be,

*Simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ **

But a Genius like Mr. *Pope's*, is one of those choicer Bounties of Heaven, which are bestow'd only on some few more *exalted* and *favorite* Spirits,

*quibus arte benignâ
E meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan †.*

HERE *Hortensius* interrupted—I see, (says he) *Philemon*, you are not yet proof against the *Enchantment* of this Subject; but are running out into your usual vein of *Enthusiasm* upon it, for which, you know, I have so often rallied you; comparing in some degree the Effect which the fancied Presence of this *Great Man* has always upon your Mind and Thoughts, to that *mysterious* Change which is wrought upon the Poet's *own* in his inspired Moments, when under the *propitious Influence* of his

* Hor. de Art. Poet. 334.

† Juv. Sat. 14. Lib. 5. v. 34, 35. var.

invoked

invoked Muse, and in the full *Ecstasy* of her *divine Communications*! However, now you are come again to your self, and your first heat and glow of Fancy is pretty well over, I will be serious in owning to you that it was Mr. *Pope's Essay* to which I was indebted for my Entertainment when you enter'd the Garden. I had been reviewing a favorite Passage of mine there, and was pursuing a Train of Reflections which that had suggested to me.

P E R H A P S (said I) you will oblige me so far as to communicate some share of your Garden-Entertainment to your *Friend*, and to admit me as a Party with you in these your Evening Meditations: This will be an effectual means to check any farther Sallies of my *Enthusiasm*, and to reduce me from those *irregular Ferments* of Imagination you are us'd to rally me upon, to the *soberer* Exercises of Reasoning and Philosophy.

W I T H all my heart, (reply'd *Hortensius*) but the Subject I was upon is pretty *Extensive*, and we shall hardly be able to go thro' with it to-night—it will not be long before we shall be call'd in to supper: it will serve to entertain us some Morning, whilst you are so good as to stay with me, when we shall have more leisure to pursue it.

T H I S

THIS was a very genteel Rebuke to me for growing serious, as I dare say you must have thought, a little out of season; considering I had but just saluted, as it were, my Friend, whom I had not seen some time. I immediately took the hint, and we fell, as was more suitable, into some Topics of a private nature, usual at first meeting, which lasted us to Supper-time; after which the remainder of the Evening was taken up with several indifferent matters, just as they happen'd to arise, without order or connection; and at a moderate hour we bad good-night.



B

PART



P A R T II.

THE next Morning, the Day proving extremely fine, *Hortensius* proposed to me to have breakfast in the Garden, which I readily came into; and it was accordingly soon after brought to us, in a little retiring Room, which he had built there for the conveniency of avoiding the Interruptions of his domestic Affairs, and of enjoying a freer Air, and more extended Prospect, whenever the Season of the Year, and State of the Weather should invite to such a Retreat. It is here he frequently amuses his solitary Hours, and has generally half a dozen of his *favorite* Authors lying about for that purpose—This was a fair occasion to remind him of the Promise he had made me, of renewing his last Evening Speculation with me at a favorable Opportunity, which I accordingly lost no time to do, as soon as Breakfast was removed——’Twas but (I told him) to give his *free* Thoughts *Voice* and *Accent*; he would, I hoped, be under no *restraint* upon the account of my being
pre-

present; especially, as this would not be the first time he had made me so much his *Friend*, as to *initiate* me into these sacred *Mysteries* of his Retirement.

SINCE you will needs (*Philemon*, said he) bear a part with me in these my solitary Exercises, I will introduce them to you in the same manner as, I told you, I first fell into them my self, by reading to you a Passage out of Mr. *Pope*. But I must first oblige you to this Condition, that you shall not run out any more into general Panegyric upon the Author, (of whose superior Merit nothing can give me an higher esteem than I have at present) but confine yourself intirely to the Matter of his Reflexions—'Tis here in the third Part of the *Essay on Man*, where he is describing the first Openings of Religious Truths upon the simpler Ages of the World. Societies, he tells us, were not as yet enlarg'd beyond the Limits of single Families: the younger Branches of which look'd no higher in the Chain of Things, than to their *Parent*, from whose Loins they were more immediately propagated: Esteeming him not as the *Substitute* of some *superior Providence*, but as himself the very *Fountain-head*, from whence their Being, and all the Advantages of it, were ultimately derived to them. Till at length, the sad Experience of this

their Parent's *Mortality*, put them upon inquiring after another, and farther Cause of all these things: They concluding with great Reason, that he could not be the original Author of Life and Happiness to others, whom they had found so unable to continue them to *himself*, beyond the Limits assign'd by some more powerful Superior. Take the Thought in the Poet's own Language————

*Till drooping, sick'ning, dying, they began,
Whom they rever'd as God, to mourn as Man.
Then looking up from Sire to Sire, explor'd
One great first Father, and that first ador'd.
Or plain Tradition that this all begun
Convey'd unbroken Faith from Sire to Son.
The Workman from the Work distinct was
known,*

*And simple Reason never sought but one.
E'er Wit oblique had broke that steady Light,
Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right.
To Virtue in the Paths of Pleasure trod,
And own'd a Father, when he own'd a God.
Love all the Faith, and all th' Allegiance then,
For Nature knew no Right divine in Men;
No Ill could fear in God: and understood
A Sovereign Being, but a Sovereign Good.—**

How amiable a Representation this of the divine Being! a Being, whose Worship is Love and Gratitude! Whose Service a

* *Essay on Man*, Part III. line 224.

State of *manly* and *rational Freedom* ! Whose Sovereignty over us but a more *enlarged Power*, guided by a *never-ceasing Disposition* to do us good ! A God, whose *proper Character* is that most *indearing* one of *Father* ! What a noble Assemblage of tender and affecting Ideas ! How different from the *too usual* Representations of this matter ! By a *certain* way of thinking, *Philemon*, that prevails upon this Subject, one would be tempted to imagine, Men were taught to believe in a *Manichean evil* God at the Helm of Things, instead of a *kind* and *benevolent* Principle. They never seem to conceive of a Deity, as of an affectionate Father to the whole System of rational Beings that hang upon his Care ; whose only *possible* Motive in bringing them into Existence, could be to communicate *Happiness* to them ; and diffuse upon them the kindly Influences of his Love and Bounty : But rather paint him to their *frighted* Imaginations, with all the Pomp and Terror of dreadful and austere *Majesty* ; a kind of *Omnipotent Tyrant* at the head of an Universe of *Slaves* : Who accordingly must pay their Court to him, if they hope to escape his Vengeance, or taste any thing of his Favour, by abject *Servility*, mean *Adulation*, and forced *Reverence*. Yet, *Philemon*, the Language of unprejudiced Reason and Nature speaks quite other things of

of a *supreme Manager*. There we find, as our Poet has judiciously observed, a *sovereign Being*, and a *sovereign Good* are equivalent Expressions. Indeed the two Ideas are so intimately allied to each other, that so long as Mankind retained any thing of their first Simplicity and native Ingenuity of Mind, they could hardly be supposed to separate them. For what Thoughts could Creatures newly become conscious to themselves of *imparted* Existence and Happiness entertain of the great *Author* of such *unmerited* Blessings, but that He must be in himself a Being of the most perfect *Benevolence*? Nothing but the extremest Perverseness, or worse Ingratitude could prevent their being led from the manifold *experience* they had of his *Goodness*, to the thankful *acknowledgment* of it: Or, as our Author beautifully expresses it, their own-
ing

a Father, when they own'd a God.

I must confess, (said I) *Hortensius*, (interrupting him,) I am very much of your Opinion as to the first Rise of *Theism* in the world; supposing, as you do, that Men were ever left to reason themselves into the Belief of a God by their meer *natural* Light, without any originally *revealed* Notices of this kind conveyed from Father to Son in a way of *Tradition*. For this, you
know,

know, *some* have asserted to be the real truth of the Case; and indeed there is a great deal may be said for this side of the Question. The Poet himself has a Glance at it in the Passage you have been reading out of him.

*Or plain Tradition that this all begun,
Convey'd unbroken Faith from Sire to Son,*

However, as I said before, allowing the truth of your Hypothesis, and that *Revelation* had nothing to do in the Affair, I am much more inclined to resolve the Belief of a Deity, as you have done, into a Principle of *natural Gratitude*, than with *Epicurus*, and his Followers, into I know not what *superstitious Awe* and Dread Men are under of *invisible Power*.

AT least (returned *Hortensius*) if I was to admit such a *natural Jealousy* and Apprehension of invisible *Power*, as these Gentlemen contend for, I should hardly think of making the *use* they do of it, to disprove the *real* existence of any such *Power*. Sure 'tis an odd way of Reasoning Men out of their Belief of a God, to tell them the Fear of him is *natural* to them. For indeed allowing the Passion to be *natural*, I should be apt to conclude from the Analogy of all other *natural* Passions, that it must have a Foundation in *Nature*; some suitable
and

and correspondent Object in the *Reality*
and *Constitution* of things.

You know, (said I) *Hortensius*, they pretend to derive this fear and suspicion of Mankind solely from their Ignorance of the Causes of natural Events. So *Lucretius*, upon the Principles of the Sect, expressly tells us. I see you have the Works of that Poet here, give me leave to turn to the Passage,

*Quippe ita Formido mortales continet omnes,
Quod multa in Terris fieri, Cœloque tuentur,
Quorum operum Causas nullâ ratione videre
Possunt, ac fieri divino Numine rentur* *.

And *Horace*, (you must remember) mentions it as an instance of Philosophical *Heroism*, which but few could attain to, to be able to contemplate the Grandeur and Regularity of Nature without a little spice of this popular Superstition.

*Hunc Solem, & Stellas, & decedentia certis
Tempora Momentis, sunt qui Formidine nullâ
Imbuti spectent* †.

But then if the *stated* and *ordinary* Course of Nature is so apt to inspire a *superstitious* Awe and Reverence, the more *extraordinary* and *unusual* Phænomena will have a

* Lib.I. v.152. Vid. etiam Lib.V. v.1182. Lib. VI. v.49 to 56. † *Hor. Epist. Lib.I. Epist.VI. v.4.*

much *stronger* effect this way. For besides that the mere circumstance of their being *uncommon* has a more obvious tendency to beget *surprise*, many of them may be said to have, as it were, something of *natural Pomp*, and *Terror* even in *themselves*. As for instance, Thundrings, Lightnings, various kinds of Meteors, Earthquakes, &c. agreeably to the Observation of another Poet of the *Epicurean Persuasion*.

*Primus in Orbe Deos fecit timor, ardua cælo
Fulmina cum caderent, discussaque mœnia
Flammæ,
Atque Ictus flagraret Athos—**

And so *Horace* intimates a particular aptness in Thunder to strike Men with religious Impressions.

*Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare—†*

And *Lucan*, I remember, almost in the same words

————— *per Fulmina tantum
Sciret adhuc solum cælo regnare tonantem ||.*

Now with a View to the eradicating these popular Superstitions, and to the freeing Men from the slavery of those religious Fears which their ignorance of the Causes

* *Pet. Arb. Frag. Sat. p. 524. ed. Mich. Had.*

† *Hor. Odarum Lib. III. Ode 5.*

|| *Lucan. Lib. III. Phar. v. 319, 320, var.*

and procecdure of *natural* Events had subjected them to; *Epicurus*, as his Interpreter and great Panegyrist *Lucretius* informs us, undertook to instruct them in a more accurate knowledge of Nature: To explain to them her several Phænomena, and give a Physical Solution of her various operations upon no *higher* a Principle than mere Matter in motion. Hear how the Poet panegyryzes his Master upon this noble and generous Enterprize. Speaking of that abject state of Mind to which Superstition had reduced Men, *Epicurus*, he tells us, was the first who durst openly attack the slavish Imposture.

*Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra:
Quem nec Fama Deum, nec Fulmina, nec
minitanti*

*Murmure compressit cælum; sed eo magis
acrem*

*Virtutem inritât animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret*.*

He hoped, it seems, by penetrating into the intimate Reasons of Things, to give a compleat Key to the several Productions of Nature; and that the notion of a superintending *Deity* would be effectually banish'd out of the world, if he could but persuade Men to admit that the Course of Affairs

* *Luc. Lib. I. 67.*

might go on as *successfully* without his *con-
currence*. And after the Poet in the three
following Lines has led his *Philosophical
Hero* thro' the whole compass of Nature,
he goes on to represent him returning in
a kind of triumph from the success of his
wonderful Discoveries; holding out, as it
were, to view a *Rationale* of the Universe,
and adjusting the full Powers and Extent
of natural *Mechanism*.

*Unde refert nobis Victor quid possit oriri,
Quid nequeat *—*

AND yet, (interrupted *Hortensius*) after
all this pompous parade of Science, what is
the Philosophy of this his boasted *Epicurus*,
even according to his own account of it,
but a continued *Series* of Blunder and Ab-
surdity?

THAT is true, (said I) but the Poet
has certainly embellished his philosophical
Romance with numberless beautiful Turns
of Thought, and an uncommon Strength
and Majesty of Style and Expression.

AN excellent *Poet*, (return'd *Hortensius*)
but a wretched Bungler in *Reasoning*! For
not to descend to the *minuter* Branches of
this *Epicurean* System, what is the *general*
Foundation which it proceeds upon, the

* Lib. I. v. 76.

Eternity of Matter in motion, but a mere *gratis dictum*? A Notion obstinately taken up against the inflexible Reason and Truth of Things? I do not design to enter into a particular Confutation of it, but shall only observe, that the Idea of *Self-existence* is not only incompatible with several known Properties of Matter, but repugnant to the *general* Nature of it*. And yet if we should allow *Matter* to have been *Eternal*, we could not admit it to have been *eternally* in *Motion*; for that would be to make *Motion* to be of the *Essence* of *Matter*, contrary to *plain Evidences* of Fact and Experience†.

So that had the *Epicurean* Philosophy succeeded never so well in the Explication of Nature from these Principles, yet the Principles themselves can never pass upon Men of Thought and just Reflection without much better Proofs than a bare *Ipse dixit*. This is an Error at the first setting out, sufficient to blast the whole Scheme at once. Seriously, *Philemon*, one cannot enough wonder at the extreme Folly of all such *Schemists* as pretend to account for

* See Dr. Clarke's *Being and Attrib.* p. 22, &c. Gurdon's *Boyle's Lect.* Sermon. 4. *Relig. of Nature delin.* p. 76, 77. Bentl. *Boyle's Lect.* Sermon. 6. *Addit. to Law's Notes on King's Orig. Evil*, p. 13. Baxter's *Inquiry into the Nat. of the Hum. Soul at large*.

† Newtoni *Optice*, Qu. ult. p. 341, 343. Gurdon's Sermon. pag. 169, &c. Bentley's *Boyle's Lect.* Sermon. 7.

things upon Principles of *Mechanism*, when the *Origin* of that *Mechanism* itself, upon *their* Hypothesis, is a greater *Difficulty*, than any of *those* it is introduced to explain. For deduce one thing from another ever so long in a *mechanical* Series, without running up to a *first Mover* ; what do you, but repeat the old exploded Conceit of the *Elephant*, and the *Tortoise* ? All *mechanical* Solutions of natural Events, tho' never so *just* as far as they go, yet leave us at last in as great *Ignorance* as they found us. It may be we are got to a *second* or *third* Remove, and have shifted the *Difficulty* from the *Elephant* to the *Tortoise*. But that fatal Question recurring at every turn, “ *and the Tortoise itself how ?* ” must ever stop us in our progress, till we have placed some *Immaterial, Intelligent, Self-active* Principle at the head of Affairs. Our great *Theorist*, the admirable Sir *Isaac Newton*, a much better Philosopher, I do not say, meerly, than *Epicurus*, or *Lucretius*, or any of the more modern Retailers of their Blunders ; but even than any of the most celebrated ones, whether of ancient or modern Times ; he, I say, was well aware of this Truth, and has born full Testimony to it. For tho' he had abundantly confirmed and established his Principle of *universal Gravity* upon the Authority of *well-try'd* Facts and Experiments, and afterwards applied it with an-

swerable

swerable Success to the Theory and Explication of the *Mundane System*; yet he never considers it otherwise than as a *Fact**, of which he owns at the same time the *Cause* to be wholly *unknown* to him. And so far is he from thinking, that because this Principle may serve to account for *other* things, therefore it needs no account to be given of *itself*, that on the contrary, he gives *hints*† of some accounts he had been *endeavoring* to form to himself of it; and finding none of them *answer* his purpose, concludes at last, with resolving it into a *divine Energy* and *Superintendence*, as seeing it utterly irreconcilable with any *natural* or *mechanical* Principles ||.

So that upon the whole, the false Triumphs of the *Epicureans* upon this Article of *natural* Causes amount at last to a public *Testimony* against *themselves*; and under a pretence of proclaiming their *Victory*, do but more effectually confirm their intire *overthrow* and *defeat*. For whilst, with a design to explode the Belief of a *God*, they have gone about to explain Nature without *him*, the *ill Success* they have met with in their

* *Prin. Phil. Schol. gen. sub finem. p. 344. Opt. p. 374.*

† *Optics, p. 350, and elsewhere.*

|| *Newtoni Optice, p. 373. Prin. Phil. Schol. gen. sub finem, p. 344.*

Attempt, is to *them* at least a very convincing proof how *impracticable* such an Explication really is. And thus, by pretending to undermine a *popular* Superstition about a *Deity*, they have laid the Ground and Foundation of a *rational* Persuasion of *him*; and shewn just enough of the Nature and Powers of *second* Causes to establish beyond all possible doubt the Necessity and Reality of a *first*.

BUT this is wandering too far from our present purpose. I am not, (you know) undertaking to detect and expose *every* Error and Inconsistency in the *Epicurean* System; my Quarrel at present being only with one particular Circumstance of it, the resolving the Belief of a superintending Deity into a Principle of *Fear*. And this, as I said, seems to me a very *unnatural* Solution of this Matter. For allowing the *general* Constitution of *Nature* to proclaim never so loudly the infinite *Power* of its almighty *Architect*, yet the manifold traces of *kind* and *good* intention * which run every where thro' it, do at least as strongly evidence an infinite *Goodness* to have been concerned in its Contrivance. And therefore, supposing Men to be never so sensible

* See this Sentiment finely enlarg'd upon in *Hutch. Nat. and Cond. of the Passions*, p. 180, 181. See also p. 182, to 189.

of the *Power* of their Maker, yet they must at the same time discern it to be a *Power* guided and directed by a Principle of *Kindness* and *Benevolence* towards *them*, and consequently an Object of *Hope* and *Confidence*, much rather than of *Fear*, or *Disquietude*. Who sees not that a *great part* of Nature ministers directly to our *Use*? A much *greater* to our *Pleasure* and *Entertainment**? If some *few* particulars have a *different* Aspect, still the Balance upon comparison turns evidently in our *favour*; and a *few* contrary Instances rather confirm than weaken a *general* Rule. Besides, that these *seemingly* natural *Evils* upon a more accurate inquiry into Nature, appear to have, even in *themselves*, a *beneficial* Tendency upon the *whole*, or at least to be the necessary *Consequences*

* This Thought is ~~most~~ beautifully pursued in the *Spectator*, vol. V. N^o. 387. The following Passage is so apposite to our purpose, that I cannot forbear transcribing it—To consider farther this *double End* in the Works of Nature, and how they are at the same time both *useful*, and *entertaining*, we find the most *important* Parts in the *vegetable* World are those which are the most *beautiful*. These are the *Seeds* by which the several Races of Plants are propagated and continued, and which are always lodged in *Flowers*, or *Blossoms*. Nature seems to hide her *principal* Design, and to be *industrious* in making the Earth *gay*, and *delightful*, whilst she is carrying on her *great Work*, and intent upon her own *Preservation*. p. 274, 275. See also, N^o. 393.

of

of some *general* Principles that evidently have *.

As to what you was observing, (*Philemon*) that some of the more *extraordinary* Appearances in Nature have a kind of natural Terror in them, it may, I think, be justly questioned whether *Guilt* or *Superstition* have not been the chief Causes of this. At least, even by your own account, the Instances of this kind are *unusual* and *extraordinary*, and therefore not to be regarded in a *general* Estimate. Whereas, on the contrary, the *ordinary stated Course* of things is calculated to excite in us a *perpetual Train* of *pleasing* and *agreeable* Sensations. To go no farther than a familiar Instance:

* See Archbishop King, of the *Origin of Evil*, translated by Law, with the Translator's excellent Notes—*Rel. of Nat. delin.* under the Art. of *part. Prov.*—*Essay on Man*, 4. 109.—The *Frame of Nature* seems, as far as we know, plainly contriv'd for the *good* of the *Whole*; and the casual Evils seem the necessary *Concomitants* of some Mechanism, design'd for vastly *prepollent* Good.—Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 275. This Principle, established with full Evidence by the Writers here referr'd to, and others that might be added, in many instances, and which is therefore by the argument of Analogy made something more than probable in all: (since Nature, or the Author of Nature, must be supposed consistent with himself) strikes at the very foundation of the *Manichean* Scheme, and turns the whole force of its Artillery upon it self; a Circumstance that deserves to be taken notice of, as pointing out the wretched Weakness of its Cause, which has not now, I would hope, many serious Abettors.

I have often been particularly pleased with the Observation of an *ingenious Writer*, that “ *a fine Day is a kind of sensual Pleasure* *.” For my own part I always find it so. ’Tis then that Nature unfolds all her brightest Charms to view, and opens, as it were, her whole Store-house of Blessings. The inimitable Beauty, Extent, and Variety of *natural Prospects*, the Verdure of the Fields and Meadows, the agreeable Fragrancy of the Air, the Lustre, Mildness, and Benignity of the Heavens; in a word, the *whole Scene* about us wonderfully co-operates to our *Enjoyment* †. The World seems made for our *peculiar* Gratification; our Spirits are chear’d and enliven’d, our Imaginations warm’d and entertain’d, our rational Faculties invigorated and exercised. The whole Man overflows, as it were, with *Delight* and *Complacency*. In this *agreeable* Consciousness, how does every *anxious* and *disquieting* Thought vanish! How open is the Soul to every grateful, affectionate, and devout

* Sir *W. Temple*, vol. I. fol. 273. *Spectator*, vol. V. N^o. 387. The *Sun*, which is as the great *Soul* of the *Universe*, and produces all the Necessaries of Life, has a particular Influence in *chearing* the *Mind* of *Man*, and making the *Heart glad*.

† Providence has imprinted so many *Smiles* on Nature, that it is impossible for a Mind which is not sunk in more gross and sensual Delights, to take a Survey of them without several *secret* Sensations of *Pleasure*, *Spect.* vol. V. N^o. 393.

Sentiment, towards the great *Author* of its *Happiness* ! With what a generous *Indignation* does it reject every *unworthy* Apprehension of so transcendently *kind* and *excellent* a Nature ! How foreign the least Suspicion of *Evil*, from a Being of such experienced Bounty and Beneficence !

THESE (*Philemon*) are obvious Reflections ; were I disposed to be more *abstracted* and *philosophical*, I might go on to observe that the very Notion of *Power itself*, that Bugbear in the *Epicurean* System, (as indeed what will not Guilt and Folly make such ?) if we will but pursue it in its *just extent*, implies and leads on to *Goodness*. Let us consider a little—If we look into *ourselves*, and examine the State of our *own Hearts*, (a Practice surely very necessary, *before we ascend*, as a celebrated Author expresses it *, *into the higher Regions of Divinity*) shall we not easily discern, that *Malice* is nothing else but *Weakness*, *Defect*, and *Impotency* † ? Should it not therefore

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seem

* *Characteristicks*, vol. I. page 41.

† The obvious *Frame* of the *World* gives us Ideas of *boundless Wisdom*, and *Power* in its Author ; such a *Being* we cannot conceive *Indigent*, and must conclude *happy*, and in the *best state* possible, *since he can still gratify himself* : the *best state* of *rational Agents*, and their *greatest*, and most *worthy Happiness*, we are necessarily led to imagine must consist in *universal efficacious Benevolence* ; and hence we conclude the *Deity*
Bene-

seem to be as necessarily excluded from an independent, and self-sufficient Principle, as *Darkness* is from *Light**? “ *There is an odd way of Reasoning*, says the Author just now referred to †, but in certain *Dis-temperers of Mind* very sovereign to such as can apply it; there can be no Malice but where there is an *Opposition of Interests*; an *Universal, Independent Being* can have no *Interests opposed*, and therefore no Malice.” || So wisely did the Poet characterise his *sovereign Being*, a *sovereign Good*.

BUT may there not be conceived such a thing, (said I) *Hortensius*, as *disinterested Malice*? and abstracting all Arguments from present *Facts*, might not an infinitely powerful Being be at the same time an infinitely evil one?

Benevolent, in the most *universal, impartial manner*. Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. ult.

* This way of thinking is much the same with that of the ingenious *Translator* of Archbishop King, and other Writers, who derive the *moral Attributes* of the Deity by way of *Consequence* from his *natural ones*.

† *Charact.* vol. I. p. 39.

|| It is scarce necessary just to hint here, that this Notion will not, as has been sometimes injuriously charged upon it by the Enemies of this Author, destroy all right of Punishment in the Deity towards any immoral Agent, since Punishments may end in the final Benefit of such Agent; and then they are not the effects of Malice, but Goodness.

THE

THE Notion, (returned he, with some warmth,) is as full of *Contradiction* and *Absurdity* as it is of *Horror* *.

BUT how think you, (said I) as to our own Species? does not History furnish us with some Characters *thorowly* and *deliberately* evil and malicious?

I

* If all *Malice* be, as is here asserted, *Weakness*, infinite *Malice* is *Weakness* heighten'd to an infinite Degree, that is, an infinite *Privation*, an infinite *Nothing*. This Point may deserve a more particular illustration, which it will admit of several ways; as thus—It may be, that all *Malice* is attended with some Degree of Pain, and consequently infinite Malevolence must be attended with an infinite Degree of Pain; that is, must be infinitely inconsistent with infinite Power.—Again, an infinitely malevolent Deity could not possibly communicate any Degree of Power or Knowledge to any Creature, in as much as, it should seem, Power and Knowledge are in their own nature good; now to impart any Degree of Good is against the Interests of a completely malicious Agent. But on the other hand, to deny that any Degrees of Knowledge and Power are actually communicated, is against all evidence of Fact and Experience. And indeed were we to abridge the supreme Being of any Power to communicate these Attributes, it would be making such inroads upon his Omnipotence, as would render his supposed Malevolence as contemptibly weak, as it is in every view shockingly detestable. Or lastly, should it be said, that infinite Malevolence is still at full liberty to communicate both Knowledge and Power to it's Creatures, for that an artful *Malice* might easily throw in along with these such imbittering Ingredients, as would make them a Punishment instead of

I think, (replied he) the incomparably ingenious Mr. *Hutcheson* * has gone a great way towards proving that Human Nature admits not so *detestable* a Principle as a *settled disinterested Malice*; and that those Actions which have the *worst aspect* this way are to be resolved only into the *irregular* and *mistaken* Application of some *justifiable Affection* †. However, allowing there might be some *monstrous Productions* in the *moral* World, as well as there are in the *natural*, yet there is a *common* Standard of *true* Formation in both: and whatever may be said of *Particulars*, the *general* Constitution of Human Nature is plainly a *Benevolent* one. And hence again rises

a Blessing; I add yet farther, infinite Malevolence cannot produce even Misery itself to any Degree that will answer its purposes: because universal unlimited Misery cannot take place without universal unlimited Malevolence being introduced first: and that once supposed in any System, it immediately becomes *Fel de se*, self-destructive, and an impossible case. A System of Beings universally and absolutely malevolent can no more subsist together, than a Set of absolutely repelling Particles can form a World. Once more, it may be just intimated, that it is of the nature of Evil, *as such*, to *destroy itself*; which makes a perfect malevolent Scheme, if one may use such an Expression, necessarily impracticable.

* Vide *Nature and Conduct of the Passions*. Inquiry, &c. *passim*.

† Spectators may think we have *pure disinterested Malice*, when it is really only the *overgrowth* of a just natural

rises a farther very convincing Argument for the great Truth we are contending for; since a Being, not himself the most *disinterestedly Benevolent*, would never of his own free motion have given such a *benevolent* Bias to a whole Species of his Creatures, as should in a manner necessarily engage them in Offices of mutual *kindness* and *indearment*: and which is so deeply rooted in their very Make and Constitution, that *Humanity*, a Term expressive of it's Influence, is by common Language appropriated to the peculiar *Distinction* of the *Kind* *.

MOREOVER, *Philemon*, for to you I may well appeal in this Affair, (so he partially

natural Affection, upon false Opinions, or confused Ideas, Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 99.—*Human Nature* seems scarce capable of *malicious, disinterested Hatred*, or a *sedate Delight* in the *Misery* of others, &c. Hutch. *Inquiry*, p. 132, 133, 134.—It is very probable that there is no such Degree of Wickedness in *Human Nature*, as, in *cold Blood*, to be pleas'd with the Misery of others, when it is conceiv'd to be no way useful to *our Interests*, &c. *Ibid.* p. 157, to 159, & *passim*.—This partial Imagination of some good moral Qualities in Actions which have many *cruel, inhuman, and destructive* Consequences toward *others*, is what has kept *Vice* more in countenance than any other Consideration. *Ibid.* p. 228. Vide etiam *Nature and Conduct of the Passions*, p. 104, 138, to 141, & *passim*.

* It is not material to our purpose here, whether these *benevolent Affections* be supposed, as some would have it, *innate*; or, as others, only *naturally acquired*.
Either

tially address'd himself to me) who have so often made the Experiment; as the having these *benevolent Affections* is the very *Badge* and *Character* of our *Nature*, so from the cherishing; and improving these natural Seeds of *Virtue*, results the *Perfection* and *Happiness* of it. The highest and most exquisite Pleasures we are at any time conscious of, arise from a Sense of our having acted in *consequence* of *kind*, and *good Affection*. Whenever we do so, we feel a secret Joy and Transport diffusing itself thro' our Breasts; and the State of our Souls, like that of a *well-tun'd Instrument*,

Either way, this Reasoning is equally conclusive.— This *moral Sense*, implanted in *rational Agents*, to delight in, and admire whatever Actions flow from a study of the *good* of *others*, is one of the strongest Evidences of *Goodness* in the Author of *Nature*. Inquiry; p. 275.—Would we allow room to our Invention; to conceive what *Constitutions* of Senses or Affections a *malicious powerful Being* might have formed, we should soon see how few Evidences there are for any such Apprehension concerning the Author of this World.— Human *Society* might have been made as uneasy to us as the Company of *Enemies*, and yet a perpetual more violent Motive of *Fear* might have forced us to bear it. *Malice*, *Rancour*, *Distrust*, might have been our natural Temper. Our *Honour* and *Self-Approbation* might have depended upon *Injuries*; and the *Torments* of others might have been made our *Delight*, which yet we could not have enjoy'd thro' perpetual *Fear*. Many such Contrivances we may easily conceive, whereby an *evil Mind* could have gratified his *Malice* by our *Misery*: but how unlike, &c? *Nat. and Cond.* p. 180, 181.

is all over *Harmony, Sweetness, and Composition*. Now what is this but the *silent Testimony* of our own *Hearts* that we are then in the *best*, the most *perfect* state of Being, of which our Nature is made capable? And shall we (*Philemon*) refuse that to the *Creator*, which we own and feel to be the highest Excellency, Perfection, and Ennoblement of the *Creature*? Or shall we not rather acknowledge, that as it is the *stronger* or *weaker* state of this *benevolent Principle* in *ourselves* that varies the several Degrees of Worth and Esteem amongst *Men*, so it is the *intire* prevalency, and *unallayed* Perfection of it in the *supreme Being*, that constitutes a truly *divine Character*, gives Grace and Lustre to every other of his Attributes, and makes *Deity* itself properly *God-like*?

IT is upon these grounds, (said I,) as I suppose, that the *noble Author*, you have more than once hinted at, makes it a Question, “ *Whether any thing besides Ill Humour can be the Cause of Atheism* * ?”. There is something so comfortable, so every way agreeable to the Interests of Mankind in *general*, and of each individual Man in *particular*, in the notion of a *common Parent*, and *sovereign Protector* of the Uni-

* *Charact.* vol. I. p. 23.

verse, that an ordinarily good-natured Man would be tempted to *wish* there *might* be a God, even tho' he should not be able to *prove* there *was* one. His *Affections* would evidently *lean* this way; whatever might be the Decision of his *Judgment* in the Case. And therefore it must argue a very high Degree of Perverseness and Depravity, a State of the most invenom'd Spleen and Moroseness, to stand out against so salutary a Truth, in the midst of that abundant Evidence with which it is at present surrounded.

AND yet, (replied *Hortensius*) as lovely and beneficial as the Notion of a *superintending Deity* is in itself, the same noble *Author* will tell you, that, (unhappily for the World!) it has been so disguised and tampered with, “ that as *Religion stands*
 “ *amongst us, there are many good People*
 “ *who would be easier in their minds if they*
 “ *were assured they had only mere Chance to*
 “ *trust to: Who rather tremble to think*
 “ *there should be a God, than that there*
 “ *should not be one* *.”

A sad State of Things indeed (returned I,) when Men entertain such hard Thoughts of a *supreme Manager*, as would almost drive them, if they *durst*, to take

* *Charact.* vol. I. p. 40.

refuge in *Forlorn Nature* as the more comfortable Opinion ! *

WRETCHED enough ! (resumed *Hortensius*) but 'tis an evil for which there can be no Remedy, 'till Men can be prevailed upon to listen more to *Reason* in their *Religion*, than, as their too general practice is at present, to the Suggestions of *natural Temper*. For this, *Philemon*, is the very case in the Instance we are complaining of. Men of *dark and gloomy Complexions* invent a *Deity, like themselves*, full of *Spleen, Sourness, and Severity*. They bring their *Ill Humour* with them into their *Religion*,

* This is the peculiar Unhappiness of Superstition, that it cannot choose but disapprove and inwardly wish against, what yet it is obliged to reverence. *Odit, dum metuit*, is the real truth of its case. This made the judicious *Plutarch* give the preference to Atheism, as being at least the more open and manly, I had almost said, the more *religious* persuasion of the two ; it being rather a higher insult upon the supreme Being to wish against his Existence, than simply to disbelieve it.

—οὐκ οἰεται θεὸς εἶναι ὁ ἀθεῖ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων καὶ ἐκλείεται, πιστεύει δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀποθάνειν γὰρ φοβείται. καίτοι γε ὥσπερ ὁ Τανταλὸς ὑπέκδυναι τὸν λίθον ὑπαίωρμενον, ἔτω καὶ ἔτῃ τὸν φόβον, ὡς καὶ ἡτὶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τριζόμενῃ, ἀγαπήσειεν αὐν, καὶ μακαρίσειεν τὴν τῆς ἀθεῖς διάθεσιν, ὡς ἐλευθερίαν—And thus he excellently sums up the matter—οὐκ οἶ τῷ μεναθεῶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἔσθ' ἂν μετῇ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τῇ προαιρεσει ἀθεῶν, ἀσθενέστερός ἐστιν, ἢ τῇ δοξαζεῖν περὶ θεῶν ὁ ἐκλείεται. De Sup. p. 170. Ed. Xyl.

and from the *actual Feeling* of these *evil Dispositions* in their *own Breasts*, are led to make them the *Characters* of their *Divinity*.

THAT was measuring, (I said) by a very *partial* and *false* Standard ; and one could not wonder at any Errors they fell into, who set out with no *better* a Guide.

As *irrational* a Proceedure, (replied he) as you may esteem it to be, believe me, 'tis a very *common* one. Seriously, *Philemon*, to one who has not well and often considered this Subject, 'tis scarce possible to imagine how *large* a Part of what most People *miscall Religion*, is but the *prevailing Biass* of their *natural Disposition*, screening itself under that *sacred* Character, and Appearance. And the Misfortune is the greater, as 'tis hardly possible to undeceive them. Errors in *Religion*, when once thoroughly imbibed, are the most *stubborn* things in Nature. Nothing is so *inflexible* as Conscience, when once it is set wrong. It *darkens* the mind to such a *fatal* degree, that *Conviction* comes to be *dreaded* as a *Crime*, and even *Blindness* itself is esteemed *sacred*. If you go about to *shew* these deluded People to *themselves*, they cannot endure the *pain* of the Representation. They have been
so

so long used to confound their own *Prejudices* about Religion with Religion *itself*, that if you do but touch them in those *tender* Points, immediately they raise a cry and an alarm against you, as if you was erazing the very Foundations of all *Religion*, and common *Morality*. And it were to be wish'd, there were not some *wiser* heads, who tho' they have *discernment* enough to see thro' the Cheat, can yet bring themselves for interest sake to countenance it, and artfully endeavour to support and keep up a *false Conscience* in the deluded Multitude, the better to inslave them in a servile dependance upon *themselves*.

I have never (said I, interrupting *Hortensius*) been used to consider this matter in the light you have now placed it in. I wish you would enlarge a little upon it. It promises a good insight into the *various Turns of religious Characters*; a Point, I must own, I have always been at a loss to account for to myself. For *Religion* is doubtless in it's *own Nature* simple and uniform: and as it is a Rule of Action equally respecting *all Men*, must be such an one as is *suit'd* to the *general State and Condition of all Men*. But view it in the *several Parties* that make equal Profession of it, in some it shall seem to consist

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wholly

wholly in a *recluse* and *abstracted Devotion*, altogether *incompatible* with the Duties of *social Life*: in others in a frequent and unrelenting exercise of *Self-Discipline* and *Austerity*, as intirely *inconsistent* with all *Relish* and *Enjoyment* of *private Life*. A third sort shall lay all the stress upon holding a particular *Set* of *Opinions*, with a fierce *Zeal* against all who happen to *differ* from them; a Notion this, again, so *repugnant* to the very Nature of *social Beings*, that it has in fact done *more* than any other towards *eradicating* in several Instances the very *social Instinct* out of Men's Hearts, and turn'd them loose upon *one another* to act some of the *blackest Tragedies* in History *, as it is even at this

* The most pernicious *Perversions* of this Desire (of Virtue) are some *partial Admirations* of certain moral Species, such as *Propagation of true Religion*, *Zeal for a Party*; whilst other Virtues are overlook'd, and the very *End* to which the admired Qualities are subservient is forgotten. *Nat. and Cond.* p. 38. This (viz. *false Opinions* of the Will and Laws of the *Deity*) is so abundantly known to have produced *Follies*, *Superstitions*, *Murders*, *Devastations of Kingdoms*, from a sense of Virtue and Duty, that it is needless to mention particular Instances. *Inq.* p. 190. *Persecution* appears to the *Agent* a *Zeal* for the *Truth*, and for the *eternal Happiness* of Men, which *Heretics* oppose. In such Instances Men act upon very narrow Systems form'd by foolish Opinions. It is not a *Delight* in the *Misery* of others, or *Malice*, which occasions the horrid Crimes which fill our Histories; but generally an *injudicious, unreasonable Enthusiasm* for some sort of limited Virtue. *Ibid.* p. 189.

Instant

Instant perhaps doing in some *Bigotted Countries*. There are others who are scrupulously *exact* in all the outward *Ceremonials* of Religion, at the same time that they are neglecting Duties of much *higher Importance* in Life, upon the account of such an *external Compliance*. Others again, place all Sanctity in a *contracted Brow*, and a *morose Behaviour*, in *reproving* you for any little *Levities* of deportment, without any regard to Times, or Places, or Persons; as if the want of *Spirit*, or *Politeness*, or *Discretion*, was any part of *religious Obligation*; or the *souring* and *spoiling* Company, instead of *improving* or *entertaining* it, could be a Duty upon Creatures evidently formed and designed for all the Benefits of mutual Converse and Friendly Intercourse.

MEAN while, (interrupted *Hortensius*) amidst all these Extravagancies and Inconsistencies of its deluded Votaries, Religion *itself* is quite another thing from what any of them mistake for it. It is a liberal, manly, rational, and social Institution; and such as, consider'd in its own *genuine tendency*, is calculated as well to promote our common *Interest* and *Happiness* in the present Life, as it is to fit us for that *better state* of Being which is promised as its reward in the future. 'Tis such a service as is worthy
of

of that great and good *Being*, who is the Object of it, to enjoin ; and of the reasonable Nature of *Man*, the Subject of it, to perform—I will explain to you the whole *Secret* of these manifold Inconsistencies.

YOU, *Philemon*, (continued he) are too well acquainted with human Nature, not to see how infinitely the *same* Passions which belong in the *gross* to the *whole Species* are *diversified* in each *Individual* of it. Every Man has his *particular ruling Passion* ; different in some respect or other from that of every *other* Man living. 'Tis a great mistake to imagine even his *Religion* itself is wholly *privileged* from the *Influence* of this *Master Principle*. Whatever the Advocates of severe *Mortification* may say of the Necessity of subduing our *reigning* Passion, I have seldom observed any one so successful in this *Self-Conflict* as to come off with a compleat Victory. *Religion* itself is generally so far from controuling this *Master Passion*, that it even takes its *own Turn* and *Denomination* from it. At the utmost, it only *diverts* it from one Channel to another, varying the *Instances* perhaps, but not at all the *Degree* of its Indulgence. I could illustrate this Remark by numberless Examples—You know the general Character of *Sebastius*.

HE

HE is certainly, (said I) a Man of great Parts and Genius, but he has unfortunately taken a wrong Turn. He is in a great measure lost to the World in a Recluse Monastic Life; and his natural *Good Sense* by having been unhappily *misapplied*, does but add new Fuel to his Distemper, and establish him in a more confirm'd State of *Enthusiasm*.

DID you never hear, (said *Hortensius*) how he first fell into this Religious Madness? An old Acquaintance of his has told me, that tho' he was always a Man of a grave regular Disposition, even in his youngest days, yet he did not take this Recluse Turn till after a *Disappointment* he met with in *Love*.

How, (said I, interrupting him, with some surprize) Was he then ever in *Love*? He is the last Man in the World I should have suspected to have been of an *amorous* Disposition.

YET (replied he) his present *Turn* of *Character*, which you, I suppose, look upon as an Argument of the *contrary*, gives me the strongest proof and conviction of *it* imaginable.

WHAT he might *once* have been, (returned I,) I cannot say ; but certainly he has long since got the better of himself in *this* point. Why he has mortified himself, almost into the Condition of a *Skeleton*.

THAT may be *Philemon*, (said he) and yet his *natural* Disposition is just where it was, he has only shifted the *Object* of his Passion.

'T WAS ridiculous, (I could not help interposing) to suppose the *tender* Passion could have any hold upon *him*, who was all over *Moroseness* and *Severity*.

ALL you can say to bring him off, (replied he) does but confirm me the more in the Opinion I have of him. The Circumstance you have last mention'd, in *particular*, evidences beyond all others the Strength of his Attachment to his *beloved Object*. Can any thing shew a greater *Extravagancy* of Passion, than to see him sacrifice, as he does, all the Comforts of Life to the *Idol* of his captivated *Affections*?

I could not but wonder, (I observed to him) where this *Idol* was to be found, I was sure not in *this* World; for as to every
thing

thing here *below*, it had long since ceased to have any Engagements with him.

YET cannot you conceive, (said he) *Philemon*, that some *fancied* Species of *Divinity* may have supplied the absence of an *earthly* and *sensible Object*, and fill'd up that Chasm in his Breast, which the *Disappointment* I was telling you of had left there *?

YOUR Fancy, (said I,) is pleasant enough, *Hortensius*;—I never yet thought there had been any Alliance between the Passions of *Love* and *religious Enthusiasm*. I grant indeed there is generally an *Enthusiasm* in *Love*; but sure 'tis of a very different kind from what is called such in *Religion*.

'TIS only the *same* Passion, (replied he) *differently* applied and exercised. Be-

* 'Tis the peculiar Glory of Man, (says Mr. Norris) to be an *amorous*, as well as a rational Being. *Miscel.* 8vo, p. 325.—And accordingly he elsewhere compares this *amorous Bias* and Endeavour of the Soul to that stock of Motion, which the *French* Philosopher supposes the Universe at first endow'd with, which continues always at the same rate, not to be abated or increased; not that this Equality of Love is to be understood in reference to *particular Objects*, any more than that of Motion to *particular Bodies*; but only, that it gains in one part, as much as it loses in another. *Miscel.* p. 296.

lieve me, *Philemon*, *Enthusiasm* has been more indebted for Converts to the Quarter of *disappointed Love*, than to any other whatsoever. *Affectionate* Tempers must settle somewhere. If they find not the expected *Returns* of their Passion upon *Earth*, nothing more common than for them to take Refuge in *Heaven*. And if the Expression might not be censured as too bold, I would add, to sollicite the *Deity* with as much Warmth, and in a great degree of the same kind, as they did before a *Mistress* *.

* *St. Austin* is by no means a single Instance of a reformed Debauchee becoming a very eminent Devotionalist: *magnâ ex parte atque vehementer Concupitudo satiandæ insatiabilis Concupiscentiæ me captum excruciat*, is his own Account of himself in the beginning of Life, (*Conf. lib. 6. cap. 12.*) And if we examine him after his Conversion, we shall not perhaps find him so very different a Man, as may be imagined at first thought.—*Descendat Domine, descendat precor, descendat in cor meum odor tui suavissimus, ingrediatur amor tui mellifluus, veniat mihi tui saporis mira & inenarrabilis fragrantia, quæ sempiternas in me suscitet concupiscentias*—And elsewhere, *amplectar te sponse cœlestis, amplectar te bono, sine quo nihil bonum, fruar te optimo, sine quo nihil optimum*; and again, *prope esto in corde, quia amore langueo*—*quare faciem tuam avertis?* *ejâ, Domine, moriar ut te videam*—are strains of Piety no ways unsuitable to his original Character. The *Devoto*, we see, need not change either his Style, or his Sentiments, as a *Lover*; all he has to do is to apply them anew.

So that, you suppose, (said I,) their *Inamorato-Character* subsists the same as ever, only it has taken a *Religiousturn*. Their Passion is transferred from mere *Mortals* to a *spiritual* and *divine* Object, and *Love* in them is sublimated into *Devotion*.

UNDOUBTEDLY *Philemon*, (resumed he) that is the very Truth of their Case. Their *Inamorato-Character*, as you have well observed, enters into and tinctures their *Religion* itself. Their *Devotion* is only a *different Modification* of their *ruling Passion*. They cannot be said to act upon any just and rational Principle, because their Turn of Character is not *consistent*, and of a *piece* with itself. They substitute one Part of Religion for the Whole: And as if all Duties were comprehended in those of the *Closet*, suffer a fond Attachment to the rapturous Exercises of a recluse and solitary Piety to take place to the exclusion of a more active and useful Virtue. They spend so much of their Time in Prayer and Retirement, as to leave themselves neither Leisure nor Inclination to attend to the ordinary Offices of civil and social Life. In short, they act as if it was the only genuine Test of true *Love* to *God*, to affect an intirely *useless* Character with regard to *Men*.

T H E R E

THERE cannot surely, (I interrupted) be conceiv'd a more unworthy and degrading Apprehension of the *Divine Being*, than to imagine Him more pleas'd with the ungovern'd Sallies of *devout Phrenzy*, the wild Transports of an heated *Enthusiasm*, than with the rational, sober, and manly Exercise of true and substantial *Virtue*, *Goodness*, and *Benevolence*.

I am entirely, (returned he) of your opinion, *Philemon*; the only rational way of recommending ourselves to the Deity, is by imitating him as far as we are able; and there is nothing by which we approach to a *nearer* Resemblance of him, than by an *active*, and *diffusive* Goodness. But the *sober* Pursuits of an unaffected Virtue are too *remiss* and *lifeless* an Employment for such *warm* and *sanguine* Tempers as we have been speaking of. To serve God by *doing good* to Men, will not answer their Purpose: Their Passion is towards an *ecstatic* Species of Religion, a Religion, like themselves, made up of *Heat* and *Flame*.

HERE I could not forbear expressing to *Hortensius* how much pleased I was with the Account he had been giving me of this *amorous* Turn in Religion. I had often, (I observed to him) met with People of a
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religious Character, who seemed to place *all Religion* in a particular Warmth, and Strictness of *Devotion*; but I never yet had traced this *over-devout Humour* to it's true Source. I never thought of resolving it into a *Constitutional Prejudice*, into the *particular Make and Cast* of their *natural Temper*.

BELIEVE me, *Philemon*, (resumed he) the more you reflect upon these *Devotee-Characters*, the more you will be inclined to do so—Do but consult your own Observation and Experience, I dare be confident you never knew an Instance of a *thorow Devotee* in Religion, whom you had not great reason to suspect to be in *other respects* a Person of a *warm and passionate Disposition*.

FOR my part, (said I) *Hortensius*, I have always avoided, as much as possible, entering into the Familiarities of People of this stamp. They are generally speaking a morose untractable Set of Mortals, and 'tis well for the *rest* of the World that their Principle leads them to have but little to *do* with it. But now that you have suggested the Observation to me, amongst such as I have ever had an Opportunity of knowing any thing of, I really think I have discovered the greatest part to be People of *strong Passions*.

sions. 'Tis a Character one does not often meet with in *Men*; it prevails, I have observed, much more generally in the *Female* World.

IT does so, *Philemon*, (said he) and from the Principles we have laid down, you cannot but be sensible, if you will reflect a little, how natural it is that it *should*. Women, you know, 'tis generally agreed, exceed *us* in the Strength of their *Passions*. What wonder is it then that they are more inclined to the *passionate* Species of Religion? That they surpass us particularly in the *softer* Passions is so notorious, that the Epithet *soft* is from thence frequently made use of in common Language as *Characteristical* of the very Sex.

IT is so, (said I) and it is remarkable, that this *Softness* is so essential an Ingredient in the *Female* Constitution, that if at any time we discover an undue Prevalency of the *rougher Passions* in any particular Instance, we are naturally led to take the *Odium* of it to *ourselves*; endeavouring to disguise, as it were, the *Truth* of the Sex, and stiling such Characters *Masculine*.

THIS is a piece of Complaisance, (said *Hortensius*) for which the *Fair Sex* is obliged to us; but it evidently proceeds upon this settled

settled Acknowledgment on our parts, that the most *natural* and *approved* state of *Female* Minds is to abound with the *tenderer* Passions. Now this Point being once admitted, 'tis but to give a *Religious Turn* to this *natural Softness*, and you have the compleat Image of a *Female Devotionalist*.

IT is well (I observed) that you have secured the *softer* Passions their Proportion in this sort of Characters, by assigning them their Office in *Religion*. If you had not contrived them an Existence *there*, it would be difficult for the most part to find any other *Salvo* for them.

I am pretty much of your opinion, (returned he) but 'tis no wonder they who are so thorowly enamoured of *Heaven* should esteem it a kind of *Profanation* to admit any mere *earthly* Object into a *Partnership* in the *tender* Affections.

BUT how, (I interposed) do you account, *Hortensius*, for the *softer* Passions first taking this *Religious Turn*? You cannot always resolve it, as you did just now in the Instance of *Sebastius*, into a *Disappointment* in *Love*. I am sure I could mention some *Female Devotees* of my Acquaintance who never can have experienced a *Disappointment* of *this* sort. I am strangely
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mistaken if ever they had an Application of *this* nature made to them. *The Man must have had Parts*, as Dr. Young expresses it, *who could find Destruction there* *.

IN stating your Question, (replied he) *Philemon*, you have unawares suggested the Answer to it—that *very* Circumstance you but now hinted at, the want of *timely* Application from *our* Sex, unravels the whole *Mystery* of the matter at once. 'Tis all one as to the Point I am concern'd to maintain, whether the *tender* Passions have *never* had an Opportunity to fix themselves, or have been violently *torn* from the beloved Object after they had once been fixed there. Either way they will be alike restrained from their *due* Scope and Exercise. And if no *natural* Object presents itself at a *proper* Season, they will be apt to carve out for themselves an *imaginary* and *artificial* one †.

* Universal Passion, Sat. vi. p. 137.

† *Montagne* has a Chapter in his Essays upon this very Topic; “ that our Affections discharge themselves upon false Objects, where the true ones are “ wanting.” One Instance, which he gives from *Plutarch*, is of that Passion which some People shew to Dogs and other Animals. *Plutarch* dit à propos, (says he) de ceux qui s'affectionnent aux guenons & petits chiens, que la partie amoureuse qui est en nous, à faute de prise legitime, plutot que de demeurer en vain s'en forge ainsi une fausse & frivole. *Essais*, chap. iv. liv. i.

THIS

THIS seems to account (said I) for a Remark I have sometimes made, that the most *stanch* Female Devotees are to be met with in the *single* State, and that too after some *moderate* Advancement in Life.

IT did so, (he allowed) and it would account likewise for another thing which I might possibly have had occasion to observe, that where this Turn of Mind happens to prevail, as it *sometimes* does, in the conjugal Estate, 'tis generally after that State has proved *unhappy*. A repeated Series of Injuries and ill Treatment weans the *Affections* of the slighted Party from an Object she has experienc'd to be so undeserving of them; and when once the *natural* Engagement is thus forcibly destroy'd, 'tis odds but some *amorous Species* of a *higher* kind strikes in at this *critical* Conjunction; the Flame breaks out anew at some more *halloved* Shrine, and mere *human Love* refines itself into *seraphic Rapture*.

I believe, (replied I) in the general you may be in the right. Yet I have known some Women strongly addicted to this *devout* Passion, who have never been driven to take refuge in it by any ill Usage from the part of their Husbands. The *natural* Object, to use your Expression, has been

sufficiently worthy of their tenderest Affections, and yet they have thought fit *wholly* to bestow them upon the *artificial*. Infomuch that their time has been in a manner divided between the alternate Returns of Devotion towards *Heaven*, and of a general Displacence and Peevishness towards *every thing besides*. They have been for ever in a fit of *Prayer*, or of *Ill-Humour*.

I am aware, (resumed *Hortensius*) this is a Case that does sometimes happen, tho' not so frequently as those others we have mention'd. One may not always be able to distinguish particularly from whence the *amorous* Passion took the *Religious* Turn we have been speaking of; yet from the general *Reason* of the thing one may be very confident, that, by some means or other, it must have done *so*. Perhaps in the particular Case last given the *fair-Inamorato* might have imbibed the *devout* Passion as it were with her very Mother's *Milk*. She was bred up to it from her Infancy. The *Turn* of her Instruction, her Reading, her Conversation lay all *this* way. She was so early accustomed to see *Devotion* substituted for *Religion*, that she has insensibly catched the *same* Spirit and Turn of Thinking. She has practised this *devotional* *Habit* so long till she is become thorowly *inamoured* of it;

it is wrought into her very *Make*, and *natural Constitution*. At least it may be affirmed in general, that the Partiality and inconsistent Turn of such *devotionalist-Characters* as we have been describing, cannot be any-wise accounted for upon a *rational footing*. The true Rise and Source of them lies in the *Passions*: They are resolvable only into the prevailing Influence of the *natural Temper* insinuating itself, to the deception of the very Parties *themselves*, into the *Make* and *Complexion* of their Religion. Infomuch that whilst these *raptur'd Inamoratos* imagine they are paying homage to the *Divinity*, they are in reality but worshipping the *Idol* of their *own Inclinations*. They are a sort of *religious Debauchees*, if one may be pardoned such an Expression, who have found out the Art of reconciling *Grace* and *Nature*, *Piety* and *Sensuality*. In the midst of all their Pretensions to an uncommon Strictness and Sanctity, they are only exercising a more refined, and disguised sort of *Self-Indulgence*. Their Religion is only a more specious Pretext for the fuller Gratification of some of their *warmest Appetites*, their *Devotion* but a more *exquisite* and *spiritualized Concupiscence*. To confirm this Account to you yet farther, *Philemon*, do but consider with your self in how *amorous* a Stile most of
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our Books of Devotion, as they are called, are written *.

I had often (I said) observed it, and had been extremely shocked at it. It was a manner of Address, I thought, much fitter for a *dissolute Lover*, than for a *religious Worshipper*.

THEY are, (returned he) for the most part the Compositions of that sort of People we have been describing; and indeed they

* Up my *Soul*, become an humble *Spouse* of the Lord *Jesus*; feed thy self with his *Beauty*, make him thy *Darling*, receive him into thy *Bosom*, quench thy *Thirst* with his *Blood*, hold him *fast*, do not let him go—Horneck's *Fire of the Altar*, p. 33. O lovely *Bridegroom* of my *Soul*, wound my *Heart*, that it may be sick of *Love*, p. 34. as above.

Let me stay and entertain my *longing Soul* with the Contemplation of thy *Beauty*, till thou shalt condescend to *kiss me with the Kisses of thy Mouth*, till thou shalt bring me into thy *Banqueting-House*. Norris's *Miscel.* 12°. p. 358. My God, my Happiness, who art *fairer than the Children of Men*, draw me, and I will run after thee—Wound me deep, and strike me thro' with the Arrows of a divine *Passion*, p. 261. as before.

O *Banquet of Love*, heavenly sweet, let my *Bowels* be refreshed by thee, my *inward Parts* overflow with the *Nectar* of thy *Love*. St. Austin's *Medit.* translated by Stanhope, p. 258, and at large.—My dearest Lord, when shall I enjoy and talk with thee alone, in Language soft and tender, sweet and charming, as the *unreserved Retirements*, and *endearing Whispers* of the most *passionate Lovers*? Thomas à Kempis, translated by Stanhope, p. 325, and at large—Bishop Taylor's *Devotional Works*, at large—Augustini Confess. passim.

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carry in them too *evident* Indications of the *Temper* and *Character* of their *Authors*, to be supposed to come from any other quarter. What else are they, but the *wanton* Exercises of a *warm Imagination*, and a *luscious Fancy*? Such as evidence beyond all other proofs the *Genius* and *Complexion* of that Species of Religion, where *Warmth* of *Constitution*, not *Reason*, has the chief and sovereign Influence. Instead of speaking the Language of a serious, rational, unaffected Piety, they abound wholly with rapturous Flights of *unhallow'd Love*, and Strains of *mystical Dissoluteness*. They *pollute* the Soul with *luscious* Images, warm it into irregular Ferments, and fire it with a false Passion; dissipating all due Composure, and Recollection of Mind, and laying open the Heart to all the *wild Extravagances* of frantic *Enthusiasm*. 'Tis for this Reason, *Philemon*, that *Women* in general are so much taken with this kind of Writings, that the far greatest part of *female Religion* is nothing else but the *multiplied Use* of these devout Formularies; they sute, beyond all others, their *natural Warmth* of Temper, and Constitution.

IT is *this* way of thinking and talking in Religion (said I,) that, I suppose, has given rise to what is called *Mystical Theology*,

logy, the Teachers whereof have accordingly been stiled *Mystics*.

IT is so, (replied *Hortensius*) the more modern *Platonists* *, and some fanciful *Schoolmen* seem to have led the way in this *Mystical* System; in which they have been since followed by too many whimsical enthusiastic Writers of *later* times, as well in our own, as foreign Communions, Papists, and Protestants, Churchmen, and Dissenters. A System it is, *Philemon*, of the most *luscious* and *unintelligible* Jargon that even the *Wildness* of *Enthusiasm* itself could ever devise †. The true Spirit of
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* Dict. de Mons. *Bayle*, Tom. 3. p. 760. Art. K. quat. Ed. à *Amsterdam*. Ne voilà-t'il pas la Voie unitive dont les Mystiques nous parlent tant? ne peut-on par les accuser d'être plagiaires des Platoniciens?

† The following Scale of the Ascent of the Soul to God, given us from the mystic Writers by no less a Person than Mr. *Norris*, is well worth transcribing. It consists of 15 Degrees. The first is Intuition of Truth. The 2d a Retirement of all the Vigor and Strength of the Faculties into the innermost Parts of the Soul; the 3d is spiritual Silence; 4 is Rest; 5 is Union; 6 is hearing of the still Voice of God; 7 is spiritual Slumber; 8 is Extasy; 9 is Rapture; 10 is the corporeal Appearance of Christ and the Saints; 11 is the imaginary Appearance of the same; 12 is the intellectual Vision of God; 13 is the Vision of God in Obscurity; 14 is an admirable Manifestation of God; 15 is a clear and intuitive Vision of him, such as St. *Austin*, and *Thomas Aquinas* attribute to St. *Paul*, when he was rapt up into the third Heaven.—Others of them reckon 7 Degrees only, viz. Taste, Desire, Satiety, Ebriety, Security, Tran-

acceptable Religion, which is in its own nature a *liberal* and *reasonable Service*, is here made wholly to *evaporate* in *unnatural* Heats, and *extatic* Fervors, such as *soberer* Minds are altogether Strangers to; and which are indeed a Disgrace, and Reproach to the Dignity of a *Rational* Nature. And yet, *Philemon*, so intoxicating are these fanciful Refinements, that when warm Heads have once given thoroughly into them, they fondly delude themselves that they are arrived at the very highest Degrees of spiritual *Improvement*, have reached the *Perfection* and *Heroism*, as it were, of Piety; and are in a manner *already* instated in the Joys and Privileges of Heaven, by a kind of *present Sense*, and *Anticipation* of them upon Earth*.

T H A T

Tranquillity; but the name of the 7th, they say, is known only to God. *Norr. Miscel.* 12^o. p. 333, 334. Absurd and senseless!—The same Mystic State is thus represented by Bishop *Taylor*—It is, says he, a Prayer of Quietness and Silence, and a Meditation extraordinary; a Discourse without Variety, a Vision and Intuition of Divine Excellencies, an immediate Entry into an Orb of Light, and a Resolution of all our Faculties into *Sweetness*, *Affections*, and *Starings* upon the divine *Beauty*; and is carried on to Extasys, Raptures, Suspensions, Elevations, Abstractions, and Apprehensions beatifical—Great Exemplar, p. 60. One can understand *nothing else* in all this Description but the extreme *Lusciousness* of it.

* Mr. *Norris* expressly calls this State of *mystical* and *abstracted* Devotion *divine Virtue*, in distinction from *moral*, or *civil Virtue*. The latter, he says, is a

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THAT they may likely enough be, (interpos'd I) according to the *gross* Conceptions they appear to entertain of the Nature, and Employments of that Place. For by the *luscious* Descriptions which they generally give of it, one would rather imagine it to be a *sensual*, or *Mahometan Paradise*, than a *Heaven of rational Beings* *.

YOU are much in the right, *Philemon*, (said he) that same *Mystic Union* in which they place the *Perfection* of all Piety here, and the *Completion* of Beatitude hereafter, if it was not for that *natural Air* of Gra-

State of *Proficiency*, the former of *Perfection*; even the *last Stage* of human *Perfection*, the *utmost round* of the Ladder whereby we ascend to *Heaven*; one step *higher* is *Glory*. Misc. p. 331, 332. So also, p. 339. a certain *Pregustation* of *Glory*, an *Antepast* of *Felicity*, the Mount of God's *Presence*, the Privilege of *angelical* Dispositions, and an *excellent* Religion, a divine *Repast*, a *Feast of Love*——

* Norr. *Miscel.* p. 323, &c. "The Fruition of God is to be resolved, says this Author, partly into *Vision*, and partly into *Love*! these are the two *Arms* with which we *embrace* the Divinity, and unite our Souls to the *fair-one*, and the *good*." *Miscell.* 8vo. p. 412. And accordingly he elsewhere prays to be admitted to this beatific State in these Words, "I beseech thee shew me thy *Glory*; withdraw thy Hand from the *Cleft* of the Rock, and remove the *Bounds* from the *Mount* of thy *Presence*, that I may see thee as thou art, face to face, and ever dwell in the light of thy *Beauty*." p. 323. Thomas à Kempis, St. Aust. *Med. and Conf.* at large.

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vity with which they always talk of it, might pass for the most *wanton* and *profane* Drollery *. But as ludicrous an Appearance as it carries with it at first sight, it is in reality a very serious Evil at the bottom. For it tends to mislead Men's Minds from the *true Point* both of their Duty, and Happiness, when they bring themselves to acquiesce in such *false* and *mistaken* Substitutes of them. And accordingly this we have more than once observed to be the Case in *Fact* of these *Inamorato's* in Religion, that they are so much taken up with their own fanciful Abstractions, as to regard the whole Circle of civil and social Duties with great *Coolness*, and *Indifferency*. These are *low*, and *groveling* Pursuits; unworthy the Attention of People so much *better* employ'd as they are † ! And indeed
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* In all the Course of virtuous Meditation the Soul is like a *Virgin* invited to make a *matrimonial Contract* ; it inquires into the Condition of the Person, his Estate and Disposition, and other Circumstances of *Amability* and *Desire* : but when she is satisfied with these Inquiries, and hath chosen her *Husband*, she no more considers *Particulars*, but is moved by his *Voice* and *Gesture*, and runs to his *Entertainment* and *Fruition*, and spends herself wholly in *Affections*, not to obtain, but enjoy his Love. Great Exemplar. p. 60.—

† As to the *social* Duties, 'tis an Observation too common in Experience, that the *forwardest Pietists* are very often People of the *weakest* and most *narrowed Benevolence*. A *Foreign Author*, speaking of certain *Religious Persons* who affected a more than ordinary

how can it be expected, that *such* whose fond Imaginations have already exalted them to *Heaven*, should condescend to act their Part with any tolerable patience upon so much *lower* a Scene as this of *Earth*? What Motive can *they* have who are already in some degree admitted to the *Beatific*

strictness and warmth of *Devotion*, tells us that, among many other absurd and unnatural Refinements they boasted of in their *devout Paroxysms*, one was the feeling of certain *Aspirationes Misanthropicas*: by which, I suppose, we are to understand a certain *disdain* of the *low Pursuits and Offices* of a *mere human mortal Condition*. But I am afraid it would be *equally* true in *another* Sense, that their *Flights of divine Rapture* were attended with these *Aspirationes Misanthropicas*; meaning thereby a certain *Weakness* of *natural Affection*, a *Coolness*, and *Displacence* of Mind towards their *Fellow-Creatures*, which Pretences of *superior Piety* do too often betray Men into. See *Bayle's Dict.* p. 95. under Art. *Rovenius* Letter A. vol. IV. See also Letters between Mr. *Norris*, and the Author of the Proposal to the Ladies concerning the *Love of God*, where 'tis a *Principle* on *both sides* agreed to, that the *Love of God* ought to *exclude* all other *inferior Complacencies*. Now where a *Love of Complacency* is quite *excluded*, *Love of Benevolence* seldom *operates* very *strongly*. See this Notion well exposed in *Hutcheson's Illustrations*, &c. p. 329, to the end.—This unnatural Paradox in Divinity, so much a Favourite with Mr. *Norris*, that it is introduced at every turn in almost all his Writings, was a Consequence of his enthusiastic Philosophy of our seeing all things in God; a Lesson which he learnt from the celebrated Father *Malbranche*, and very industriously inculcated upon his female Correspondent, who being of a Temper too severe to relish any thing easy or natural; and having possess'd in an eminent degree the *Gift of Infrigidation*, which Mr. *Bayle* somewhere speaks of,

tific Presence of their *Maker* *, to endeavour after any farther Qualifications for that purpose ? at least, if any *nearer* Advances were to be made this way, yet how much *nobler* a Field of Exercise to the devout and aspiring Soul are the *seraphic* Entertainments of *Mysticism* and *Ecstasy* than the mean and ordinary Practice of a mere *earthly* and *common* Virtue †.

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of, was well inclined to embrace a Doctrine which disavowed all Love to any Creature, under colour of which, she could in some measure revenge the Disregard shewn to her by *Mankind*; towards whom her Writings bear ^{with} a most implacable aversion. See particularly her Reflect. upon Marriage. To what an extravagance of Severity her Temper carried her, let the following more than *Stoical* Rant bear witness—‘ I believe ’twere easy to demonstrate, that Martyrdom is ‘ the *highest Pleasure* a rational Creature is capable of ‘ in this present State. Letters, page 31. What pity is it this Advocate for the *Pleasure* of Martyrdom, did not live in the earlier Ages of the Christian Church, when Racks, and Faggots, and Pitch-barrels were no unusual *Entertainments* ?

* Persons eminently Religious are *divina patientes*, *Pathics* in *Devotion*, suffering *Ravishments* of *Senses*, transported beyond the Uses of *Humanity* into the *Suburbs* of beatifical Apprehensions. *Great Exemplar*. p. 61. Thrice happy Soul that canst look thro’ the Veil, and notwithstanding that thick Cloud of Creatures that obscures thy View, discern him that is invisible, live in the light of his Countenance all the time of thy sojourning here, and at last, pure and defecate, with a Kiss of thy *Beloved*, breath out thy self into his sacred Bosom. Letters as above, p. 180.

† This is what Bishop *Taylor* degradingly calls *Virtue* and precise *Duty*, as if those *Ecstatic* and *Devotional* Transports

THESE are glaring Pretences, *Philemon*; and 'tis no wonder they should pass current with People of weaker Judgments under the sacred Stamp of true Piety. But that Men of superior Sense and Discernment in all *other* respects, should so far impose upon themselves by a Set of pompous and empty Sounds, would really be unaccountable, but that we have before observed, that the ground of this Delusion lies not originally in Men's *Understandings*, but in their *Passions*; which cast a strange Suffusion over the plainest Truths, and keep them in an intire Ignorance of themselves, and of the *true Motives* of their own Actions. For whence else can it proceed, that these *mystical* Refiners do not see thro' the *Cheat* they are in reality practising upon themselves? Whence else do they not discern, that their boasted Exercises of a more exalted Piety are but the *artful* Disguises of their *natural*

Transports of Zeal were a kind of *Supererogation* in Piety—and yet tho' this Author seems willing enough to give these *latter* the preference in point of *Excellence* and *Dignity*, he owns at the same time that the greater *safety* lies on the side of a more *common* and *ordinary* Virtue. For that “many *Illusions* have come
 “ in the Likeness of *Visions*, and absurd *Fancies* under
 “ the pretence of *Raptures*, &c.” And again, “So un-
 “ *satisfying* a thing is Rapture and Transportation to
 “ the Soul; it often *distracts* the Faculties, but seldom
 “ does advantage Piety, and is full of Danger in the
 “ greatest of its Lustre.” *Great Exemp.* p. 61.

natural Temper, which indulges it's *own Warmth* under the pretext of *devout Fervours*? Whence else should they not be sensible, that their *Prayers* are the very Language of their *wantonest Appetites* and *Wishes*? the Effusions of a Breast heated with extravagant Passion, and giving vent to Fires of a *grosser* kind in fancied *purser* Flames of *divine Love*, and *spiritual Rapture**.

AND

* For a taste of this Inamorato-Devotion read the following Passage in the 35th Chap. of St. *Austin's* Meditations, and thence judge whether he did not borrow many of his devout Ideas from his unregenerate State; from anno illo decimo sexto ætatis Carnis meæ, (which he himself speaks of in his Confessions, Book I. Ch. 2.) cum accepit in me sceptrum, et totas manus ei dedi vesaniæ libidinis—O Love of Sweetness; O Sweetness of Love, that dost not torment, but delight, that dost always burn, and are never extinct, sweet Christ, good Jesus, my God, my Love, kindle me all over with thy Fire, with the Love of thee, with thy Sweetness, thy Joy, thy Pleasure and *Concupiscence*, that being all full of the Sweetness of thy Love, all on fire with the flame of thy Charity, I may love thee, my God, with my whole Heart, and with all the Power of my inward Parts, (totis medullis præcordiorum meorum in the original, a much stronger Expression) having thee in my Heart, in my Mouth, and before my Eyes always and every where. Deus Lumen cordis mei, et panis oris intus animæ meæ, et virtus maritans mentem meam, et sinum cogitationis meæ, non te amabam, et fornicabar abs te. *Confessionum*, Lib. 1. cap. 13. May one not apply here what he elsewhere says, Recordari volo transactas sæditates meas, et carnales corruptiones, ut amem te, Deus meus. *Con.* lib. 2. cap. 1 Sure he has here abundantly transcribed from them into his Devotions.

AND indeed upon better Reflection, considering from *what* Causes the Distemper of Mind we are here speaking of, takes it's rise, Men of *superior Parts*, a *livelier Imagination*, and more *refined Genius*, seem of all others to be most in danger of it. For *they*, 'tis well known, are *generally* observed to be of that sort of *Temperament* which is the most *natural* Soil for *Enthusiasm* to spring up in. The superior *Fineness* and *Delicacy* of their Make gives a more than ordinary *Edge* and *Keenness* to all their *Passions*, those especially of the *tender amorous* kind. Now the *ecstatic* Habit is in a peculiar degree infectious to this sort of Constitution. *Devotion*, according to the *mystic* Notion of it, is a kind of *natural Relief* to the Cravings and Importunities of some of *these* Men's *eagereſt Desires*, which they may indulge in the freest manner without Limit or Reluctancy; not only with no danger to their Innocence, but even with considerable Advantage, as is imagined, to their *spiritual Estate*. It does, as the ingenious Satirist you was quoting not long since, speaks upon another Occasion,

*Relieve their Wants, and spare their Blushes
too*.*

It is admirably contriv'd to *allay* certain irregular and uneasy Ferments in the *Blood*
and

* *Universal Passion*, Sat. 6. page 140.

and *animal Spirits* to which this sort of *Temperament* is peculiarly subject, which might otherwise solicit a Remedy of a *coarser* kind. Those Heats of *Passion* which in an inferior Class of Sensualists would excite to Amours of a more *humble* and *ordinary* strain, in these *mystic* Lovers are thrown off in *seraphic Ardors*, and break out in these *spiritual Debaucheries* *.

A

* Such certainly we must esteem their Uniones cum Deo, (of which we are told by *Rovenius* they are used to boast) cum uniantur proprio, si non peiori spiritui; their Transubstantiationes mysticas: Cordis concentrationes: Potentiarum, imo omnis sui esse, annihilationem; Connubium essentiae creatae & divinitatis: spirituale Sacramentum inseparabilitatis: Somnium omnium affectionum: Absorptionem & liquefactionem in amplexu sponsi: Triplicem animae hierarchiam: Orationem in quiete passivâ: Ebrietatem spirituales: cordis silentium: Meditationes negativas: Uniones supereffenciales: Puteum & gurgitem annihilationis: Amorem deificum, transformantem, unientem, stringentem, amplexantem; Suavitatem cor auferentem, fugentem sponsi ubera, ruminantem collum: Absorbentem enthusiasmum; Insensibilitatem & oblivionem omnium inducentem: Abyssalem cum Deo identificationem: Confricationem deificam, incendientem, & consumentem Cor: Elevationem ad suavitatem coelestem ex infernali languore: Introversionem super-coelestem: Caliginem & umbram Dei: Allocutiones internas, Elevationes incognitas, Extensiones & Applicationes *amorosas*: Animae suspensiones, deliquium, suspiria: Mortem sensuum & omnium affectuum, ecstasim continuam, justitium ratiocinii: Cordis contactum & patefactionem: liquefactionem, influxum, inflammationem: Affultus qui ferri nequeant: Penetrationes ad intimâ: Vulnerationes, constrictiones, al-

K

ligationes

- A *Debauch* in Religion, (said I) is a *Paradox*. I never before heard of; and yet methinks by the help of your Preparations, *Hortensius*, I begin to digest it pretty readily. You have taught me, that it is not merely possible in *Idea*, but that in *Fact* there is as great a *Bias* this way in *Spirituals* in the Constitutions of some People, as in others there is observed to be in *common Life*. But after all, if this *mystical* kind of Debauchery be rather the more absurd and extravagant, it is certainly the less criminal than that which is more ordinarily practised in the World*. And to say

ligationes inseparabiles: Aspectus penetrantes & oblectantes, Voces tremulas, Murmura columbina: Gustus suavissimos, Odores gratissimos, Auditus melodiarum celestis, Hypermysticas Dei & Animarum perichorese: Impudentiam spiritualem, aspirationes misanthropicas, ignem sine carbone, flammam sine corpore: Holocaustum meridianum in viscerali & medullari penetrabilitate: Contactum mirabilem & suavissimum, obscurarum noctis gaudia, & caliginem:—hæc & similia sesquipedalia verba in novâ Pietatis scholâ inter sponte electos Magistros, & Discipulas curiosas, adeo frequenter tenero proferuntur palato, ut intimis in visceribus sentiantur. *Rovenius* de Repub. Christianâ Lib. I. cap. 43. p. 278. *Bayle's Dict.* p. 95. Letter A. under Art. *Rovenius*, Tom. IV.

* It has sometimes been so contrived by the more expert Masters in the *mystic Science*, that both sorts have been practised at the *same* time, the one being made use of to introduce or facilitate the Execution of the other. Those who have been most forward to propagate these *mystical* Doctrines, have not always been them-

say the truth, considering that it takes off the Mind from much worse Pursuits, which the same *natural Warmth* of Temper and Constitution would in all probability betray these *amorous Devotees* into, were it not for such a *spiritual Application*; I do not see but it might pass without much Censure, as rather a Weakness, than a Fault in them; but that, as you have observed, whilst it restrains them from some more vicious Excesses, it is too apt to divert their Attention from many more noble and useful Virtues, which are the proper Business, and I may add, the most distinguishing Ornaments too, of their present State *.

THIS

themselves the most *spiritually minded*. The pretences of *Quietism*, and of a more *sublime* and *abstracted Devotion*, have sometimes been employ'd to very gross and carnal Purposes, and the *mystic Union* has brought about a *Union* not altogether so *mysterious*. See Monsieur Bayle's Dict. pag. 300. vol. 3. who there relates at large an *Adventure* much to our purpose; in conclusion he has this Reflection—Je me contente d'assurer qu'il y a beaucoup d'apparence, que quelques-uns de ces dévots si spirituels, qui font espérer qu'une forte Méditation, ravira l'Ame, & l'empêchera de s'appercevoir des Actions du Corps, se proposent de patiner impunément leurs dévotes, & de faire encore pis. C'est de quoi l'on accuse les Molinosistes. En general, il n'y a rien de plus dangereux pour l'esprit, que les dévotions trop mystiques, & trop quintessenciées, & sans doute le Corps y court quelques risques, & plusieurs y veulent bien être trompez.

* 'Tis a severe, but I am afraid no unjust Satire upon this sort of Characters, what Monsieur Bayle observes.

THIS is one of its worst effects, (returned *Hortensius*) but it has several other very mischievous ones. Particularly, it gives great and signal Discouragement to the general Practice of Piety in the World, by exposing it to *Ridicule*, and the Charge of *affected* Singularity. On the one hand, it throws many honest and well-meaning, but weaker Minds into a *Despair* of ever succeed-

of Mademoiselle *Bourignon*, a noted Pretender to a more than ordinary Piety in her time——Elle a eut cela de commun avec tous les Devots, qu'elle a été d'une humeur *bilieuse & chagrin*——*Fœminam duram, imitem, pervicacem, stomachabundam, rixosam*, are Compliments Monsieur *de Seckendorf* makes her upon the Testimony of her own Writings. She was, as it seems, perpetually changing her Servants; and indeed well she might, for besides the natural Moroseness of her Temper, (so great, as this Author remarks, “ ut “ nemo morositatem ejus tolerare posset, minime omnium fœminæ quas in sodalitium aut famulitium adsciverat; exercebatur nempe in illas, ut lufit Satyricus, Præfectura domus, Siculâ non mitior aulâ”) besides this, she would hardly allow them common necessaries——Si ceux qui ont demeure avec elle n'avoient eu les dents biens fortes pour digerer certaines croûtes biens dures a la nature corrompue, ils l'auroient quittée mille fois pour une. *Bayle's Dict.* p. 687.——By this Conduct, 'tis easy to observe, she gratified at once her Covetousness, (for which she was very remarkable) in lessening the ordinary Expences of her Family; and her Piety in training up her Domesticks to the Practice of Christian Mortification. Let us proceed upon this Instance, and see if it will not account for some others of the same kind——'Tis no unusual thing to see People practising very high Degrees of *Devotion*,
Morti-

succeeding in the Business of Religion, because upon Examination they discover in themselves little or no Acquaintance with those *tumultuous Heats*, and *ungoverned Sallies of Passion*, upon which so great a *Stress* is laid by these *religious Inamorato's*: And on the other, it hardens the dissolute and unthinking Part of Mankind into an obstinate Reluctance towards the very first Efforts of Reformation, by confirming them in a Prejudice they are of *themselves* too willing to entertain against Religion, that it is a *rigorous impracticable Service*; a State of *unnatural Refinement*, altogether *incompatible* with the *common Measures* of human

Mortification, and other supposed Instances of a more *eminent Religion*, who yet are extremely *faulty* when consider'd in their *social Character*: Bad Parents, Husbands, Wives, Children, Friends, Relations, Governors of Families, &c. This inconsistent Behaviour with some People makes them pass for downright Hypocrites, and acting a mere *Farce* in their greatest Strictnesses. The Case is far otherwise; they are very sincere, but at the same time very much mistaken: for they consider Religion as a matter quite distinct from, and much *superior* to, social Virtue; hence they are so busied with the one, that they have no leisure to bestow any care upon the other.—Or possibly after all they may have found out the Art, with our Author's Heroine, of *sanctifying* their own *Humours* and *Tempers* under the name of some *religious Quality*; and then there will be very little Mystery in the matter. For by this artful way of Self-Delusion (and nothing is so artful as Self-Delusion) a severe Hatred of one's own Species may, as was hinted above, be construed into

human Life. And after all, *Philemon*, supposing this *devotional* and *ecstatic* Habit were in itself barely *innocent*, (which yet I dare say you are convinc'd from what has been just now said of it, that it is *far* from being) still it must be remember'd, that there is a much greater Degree of Resolution shewn in overcoming Temptations, than in meanly deserting our Post, and flying from them. The true *Heroism* of Religion consists in living and acting our part well *in the World*, not in any fanciful *Abstraction* of ourselves from it. It argues a much greater Strength, and Firmness of Mind, a more exalted Pitch of *Self-Government*, to be able to keep a due guard upon our *Passions*, at the same time that we leave them to their

into a more intire Love of God——Natural Severity will be religious Discipline——Anger and Peevishness Zeal——Moroseness Gravity——Weakness of Mind a Tenderness of Conscience——Narrowness of thinking Orthodoxy——Pride a Regard to Things or Persons sacred——splenetic Contempt of the World, a becoming Abstraction from it——unmanly Tameness of Mind, a Christian Poverty of Spirit——Singularity, Constancy——Warmth of Constitution, Devotion, &c.——and perhaps too mistaken Applications, Instances, and Passages of Scripture, may not be wanting to a willing Mind to support itself in any of these Errors.——Let us once more have recourse to our Example——We are told of Mademoiselle *Bourignon*, that far from imagining, que sa bile fût un défaut, elle l'appelloit amour de Justice; & soutenoit que la colere etoit une veritable Vertu; & se defendoit par les Rigueurs que les Prophetes, & les Apôtres ont exercées. *Bayle's Dict.* p. 687. Art. *Bourignon*. Letter P.

natural

natural Objects and Exercises, within the sacred Verge of *Reason* and *Religion*, than to be driven to take Refuge from their *natural* Exorbitancies in the Invention of a *secondary* and *artificial* Method of indulging them; and *that* too in a Matter where the Application of them, to say no worse of it, seems beyond all others *improper*.

WOULD you then, (said I, interrupting him,) allow no Scope to the *Passions* in Religion? That will indeed effectually purge it of it's *unnatural Heats*; but will it not be running too far back into the *chilling Extreme*? Our *Passions* are the Springs of Action in our ordinary Concerns, without which Life itself would be apt to stagnate; may not some such *quickenings* Influence be equally necessary in our religious ones? Our *Prayers* particularly, if they be not warm'd and inliven'd with some Degrees of *Fervency* and *Intenseness*, (the Helps towards which seem to me to lie mostly in the *Passions*;) will they not degenerate into a mere *lifeless* Indifferency, a cold and formal *Lip-Service*? You know a certain great Man was once pretty severely treated for defining Prayer to be a *calm, undisturbed, Address to God*. A Doctrine, it should seem, very near of kin to yours in what you just now advanc'd *.

* Bishop of *Bangor*'s Sermon before the King in 1717.

If *this*, (replied *Hortensius*) had been the *only* Offence of that Gentleman in the Discourse you refer to, I am apt to believe his Adversaries had afforded him better Quarter. But the *main* Quarrel against him sprung, as I take it, from *other* Motives ; and *this* Circumstance came in chiefly to aggravate and inflame the *general* Charge. And indeed the *Rancour* of Controversy itself durst not attack him upon this Article, till, by an Artifice very familiar to expert Disputants, it had first disguised and thrown aside it's *natural* and *obvious* Meaning ; explaining away *calm*, and *undisturbed*, into *cold* and *unconcerned*, contrary to all Rules of common Language. Whereas, take the Passage in the *plain received* Sense and Intention of it, and it is so far from ministring any reasonable grounds of exception, that for my part, I cannot conceive, how a *juster* or *truer* Account of Prayer, within the compass of so *few* Words, could possibly have been devised. This, I think, must appear to any one, who, disliking the Definition here given of Prayer, shall be pleased, for *experiment sake*, to *reverse* it ; substituting the contrary Epithets of *troubled*, and *tumultuous*, instead of *calm* and *undisturbed*. Such a Description would, I imagine, have a pretty odd Sound in the Ears of most People ; and hardly be
 thought

thought to convey a very *just* Idea of the Nature and Genius of it's Subject.

THAT, (said I,) would be running out of *one Extreme* into *another*. But certainly some Degrees of Warmth and Earnestness, beyond what is expressed by the Words *calm*, and *undisturbed*, seem necessary to give *Life* and *Spirit* to our *Devotions*. Such a *feeble* Attack as this amounts to, can never be called with any tolerable Propriety of Speech a taking the *Kingdom of Heaven* by *Violence* *; a Notion under which, if I mistake not, our Divines do not unfrequently represent this Duty of Prayer.

YOU mistake the Point, (returned he) *Philemon*. Warmth and Earnestness in any good sense are by no means inconsistent with being *calm*, and *undisturbed*; which is opposed, not to having a fixed rational *Intention* of Mind in our Religious Exercises, a *serious recollected* Frame of Spirit; but to the *artificial* Heats and Transports of a wanton Imagination, and an Enthusiastic Fancy; that *gross*, and mechanical sort of Devotion, which Writers of the *mystic* Class, who no doubt are themselves well acquainted with it, describe as accompanied with “ a
“ *sensible Commotion of the Spirits*, and E-

* St. Mat. xi. ver. 12.

“*stuation of the Blood* * :” An excellent, and doubtless an *indispensable*, Ingredient *this*, in the Service of him who has declared, he is to be *worshipped by all true Worshippers in Spirit and in Truth* †! Those who think *calm* and *undisturbed* in Prayer to mean the same with *lifeless*, and *indifferent*, seem to me to forget that there are any such Principles in human Nature as *pure Affections*, distinct from those *supplemental Forces* which they may sometimes receive from certain *Ferments* in the *animal Oeconomy*, design’d by the Wisdom of Providence to excite or quicken their Influence upon emergent Occasions, and which are, properly speaking, *Passions* ||. And indeed

* Norris’s *Miscell.* 12^o. p. 335. ’Tis said also to be *passionate*, and even *wonderfully so*, and *exceeding the Love of Women*. And accordingly Men of the most *warm* and *pathetic* Tempers, and *affectionate* Complexions, (provided they have but Consideration enough withal to fix upon the right Object) prove the *greatest* Votaries in Religion. *ibid.* 335, 336.—A Joy whose perpetual Current always affords a fresh Delight, and yet every drop of it so entertaining, that we might live upon it to all Eternity: whilst our Souls are inebriated with its Pleasures, our very Bodies partake of its Sweetness. For it excites a grateful and easy Motion in the animal Spirits, and causes such an agreeable Movement of the Passions, as comprehends all the Delight abstracted from the Uneasiness which other Objects are apt to occasion. *Lett. conc. the Love of God*, p. 86, 87.

† St. John iv. ver. 23.

|| When the word *Passion* is imagin’d to denote any thing

deed these latter have so plain a reference to the Uses of the *animal* Life, that were not the Fact too common, one would wonder how they should ever get footing in *Spirituals*, to which they seem not to have the *least Relation* *. In our ordinary Concerns the Connexion between the *Affections* and *Passions* is often too *secret*, the mutual *Transitions* from one to the other, often too quick

thing distinct from the *Affections*, it includes a *confused Sensation* either of Pleasure or Pain, occasion'd or attended by some violent *bodily Motions*, which keeps the Mind much employ'd upon the present Affair, to the exclusion of every thing else. *Nat. and Conduct of the Passions*. p. 28, 29.

The *Author* of Nature has probably formed many *active* Beings, whose Desires are not attended with *confused Sensations*, raising them into *Passions* like to *ours*. *ibid.* p. 50.

Beings of such Degrees of *Understanding*, and such *Avenues* to Knowledge, as we have, must need these *additional Forces*, which we call *Passions*, &c. *ib.* p. 51. and to the end of the Sect.

When more violent *confused Sensations* arise with the *Affection*, and are attended with, or prolonged by *bodily Motions*, we call the whole by the Name of *Passion*. *ibid.* Sect. 3. p. 60.——

* Those who would see a Defence in form of this sort of passionate Devotion, may find it in Mr. *Norris's* Miscel. p. 423. and following ones.——It may not be amiss to insert here his Answer to a very important Objection to his favourite Scheme of a sensitive Love of God. “ Some, says he, I know are of opinion, “ that 'tis not possible for a Man to be affected with “ this *sensitive Love* of God, which is a *Passion*, be- “ cause there is nothing in God which falls under our “ Imagination ;. and consequently (the Imagination “ being

quick and sudden to admit of an accurate *Distinction*. And here the Mischief of confounding them is not great. But in *Religion* 'tis far otherwise: *there*, however just an *Application* there may be for our *pure rational Affections*, the Subject is too *sacred* for our *Passions* to *intrude*, without *profaning* it. No one will imagine our *Affections* are less real for being purged of all *gross* and *corporeal* Mixtures; and certain it is, they are hereby rendered much more *pure*, and consequently more *suitable* to a *spiritual* and *divine* Object. Now this *Distinction* being kept in view, 'tis easy to see, how

“ being the only Medium of Conveyance) it cannot
 “ be propagated from the intellectual Part to the *sensi-*
 “ *tive*: whereupon they affirm, that none are capable
 “ of this *sensitive passionate Love* of God but Christians,
 “ who enjoy the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation*. But 'tis
 “ not all the *Sophistry* of the *cold Logicians* that shall
 “ work me out of the Belief of what I feel and know,
 “ and rob me of the sweetest Entertainment of my
 “ Life, the *passionate Love of God*.”——Thus far
 we see he only enjoys himself in his Delusion; how
 he defends it, will next appear.——After triumphing
 a little longer, “ As to the Objection, says he, I an-
 “ swer, that altho' in God, who is the Object of our
 “ Love, we can *imagine* nothing, yet we can *imagine*
 “ *that our Love*; which consists in this, that we
 “ would unite ourselves to the Object beloved, and
 “ consider ourselves as it were a part of it; and the
 “ sole *Idea* of this very *Conjunction* is enough to stir up
 “ a Heat about the Heart, and so to kindle a very ve-
 “ hement Passion: to which, I add, that altho' *Beauty*
 “ in God be not the same as in corporeal Beings, yet
 “ it is something *analogous* to it, and that very Ana-
 “ logy

how needless it is to have recourse to our *Passions* in order to give *life* and *vigor* to our religious Exercises, when our *calm rational Affections*, a much nobler Part of our Composition, are abundantly sufficient to all *wise* and *good* Purposes of doing this. These will inspire *Warmth* without *Flame*, and *Strength* without *Rage* and *Violence*. So that we shall be able to *pray* at once *with the Spirit*, with all the earnestness of a devout Recollection, and as the same inspired Person speaks, *with the Understanding* also *;

“*logy* is enough to excite a *Passion*.”——We have been several times obliged to this Gentleman for ascertaining to us the *Fact* of this *Inamorato-Devotion*; here we have him condescending to explain the *Philosophy* of it. It seems, we are to set our Spirits at work about something, we know not what, and when we have *stirr’d up* a sufficient *Heat about the Heart* (which by the way is rather felt than to be imagined) we are to fall in love with this very *Heat*, and make an Idol of our own *Passion*. *Conjunction* is the Word of Command, and instantly all the tender *Passions* are called to exercise. Let those who can make Sense of such a Religion, enjoy it as they please. ’Tis to be hoped after all, a little Sobriety of Thought does not incapacitate a Man to be a religious Agent; and that People may *serve God acceptably* without turning Visionaries, and Enthusiasts.

* 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15, &c.

How different this from what *Cassian* reports of *Anthony* the Hermit, who used, it seems, to say, *that* is not a *perfect Prayer*, in which the *Votary* does either *understand himself* or the *Prayer*! See *Great Exemplar*, p. 60. This is being, as the same *Author* has it, *Pathics in Devotion* with a witness.——

with

with a due Sense of that awful *Presence* we are at such Seasons more immediately surrounded with, and which we may be very sure is much better pleased with the Worship of a *pure Heart*, and of *well-order'd Affections*, than with all the wild and wanton *Ecstasies*, that even the most luscious *Enthusiast* can boast of. In short, *Passion* is but the mere *Mechanism* of *Devotion*; and in proportion as *that* prevails, it loses *so far* its true Nature and Dignity, and ceases to be a *reasonable Service* *. This we may safely affirm, *Philemon*; that the sacred *Scriptures* know nothing of those *passionate Heats*, and *Paroxysms* of *devout Phrenzy* which some Men are so fond of. These *mystical Refinements* owe not their birth to the *rational Simplicity* of the Gospel, but to the fond Conceits of Men in *After-Ages* departing from *thence*, to introduce their own vain *Imaginations*, and Systems of *Will-Worship* in its stead. Where do we read of *Ecstasies*, *Raptures*, *Suspensions*, of *starings upon the divine Beauty*, *expiring in the Embraces of our Maker* †, and I know not what other *Flights of enthusiastic Jargon*, in the *inspired Pages*? What mention is *there* ever made of the refined Transports of *seraphic Love*, the *mystic Union*,

* Rom. xii. ver. i.

† Taylor's *Great Exemplar*. p. 60. Norris's *Miscel.*

and all the other *fanciful Abstractions* of Monastic, and Recluse *Pietists*? These are the Dreams and Inventions of *Men*, not the Doctrines of *Christ* and his *Apostles*. Religion in the New Testament is often represented as the proper *Discipline* of the Passions, but never once, that I know of, as the *Business*, and *Exercise* of them. *Prayer* is often mention'd, and commanded; but not a word is said of those *ecstatic* and *artificial* Commotions which the *mystical Divinity* is so full of. *When thou prayest*, says our Lord, *enter into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut thy Door*, to avoid all vain Ostentation, *pray to thy Father which is in secret*. And after this manner pray ye, *Our Father*, &c *. Words of such amazing *Force*, and *Comprehension*, and at the same time of such a wonderful, and inartificial *Simplicity*, as must convince the most harden'd Infidel, would he give himself leave thoroughly to attend to them, of that *divine Spirit* and *Wisdom* by which the *Author* of them most unquestionably spake. This excellent Form of Prayer, *Philemon*, was, we know, intended as a Model for all succeeding Ages to copy after in their devotional Compositions; and how little does it favour of those *affected Strains* with which later Compilers of devout Formula-ries so generally abound? The truth is, it

* Mat. vi. ver. 6. and 9.

is not, like theirs, conceiv'd in the Heat of an enthusiastic Fancy, or set off with the false Glare of human Eloquence, but with a Spirit and Language much superior to both; even with that powerful *Energy* of Thought, and that affecting *Plainness* of Expression, as shews *Devotion*, in the Intention of that *pure* and *spiritual* Being who is the great Object of it, to be a very *different* thing from what these Men's mistaken Zeal would represent it. An Exercise of our *rational Nature*, not of our *sensitive*; the dutiful Homage of intelligent Spirits, not the *wanton Caressings* of *amorous* Voluptuaries; a kind of *mystical* Intriguing, and *sanctified* Gallantry.

THERE is certainly, (said I) nothing of this kind appears in the admirable Form of *Prayer* you have been speaking of. It is composed in a quite different Stile, and gives one a very noble and exalted Idea of the *rational* and *manly* Genius of true *Devotion*. It is strange the devotional Writers of later times should have so generally agreed to deviate from the *Simplicity* of so divine and excellent a Model; but Men have a wonderful Aptness to refine upon plain Institutions, and in nothing more than in the Business of *Religion*.

W H E N

W H E N one considers, (interrupted *Hortensius*,) how strongly this *over-refining* Bias operates in most other devotional Compositions, it must greatly recommend the public Offices of our *Church*, that they are so unexceptionable upon this Article. Nothing can equal the Wonder that they should so intirely escape a Contagion of so insinuating a nature, except the Pleasure it must give every *rational Worshipper* that they have done it. For such, it must be confess'd, was the Judgment and Temper of the first Compilers of our public *Liturgy*, our never to be forgotten *Reformers*, that in the just and beautiful Description which the *reverend Historian* of the Reformation gives of it, *It has brought our Worship to a fit Mean between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked Flatness* *. Here, *Philemon*, are none of those Flights and Extravagancies which so much abound, in more *private* Formularies ; all is grave, manly, and rational.

I was of his Opinion in the main, (I own'd) but at the same time I could not but think there was room for several *Amendments* in our publick Service, which I wished the Wisdom of our Governours would take into their serious Consideration.

* Bp. *Burnet's* Abr. of the Hist. of the Ref. 8vo. p. 59.

WAS there ever any *mere human* Composition (answer'd *Hortensius*) wholly free from Faults? Certainly our *Church Liturgy* is as much, or more so, than any other; especially considering how long a time it has now stood without undergoing any Alteration, as *Occasions* and *Circumstances* may have requir'd *. For my part, I am much more inclined to rejoice that it is *no worse*, than to complain that it is *no better*. I wish our private Forms, were but half as unexceptionable as our public ones.

WHAT think you, (said I) of those Heads of private Prayer which the excellent Author of the *Religion of Nature delineated* has offer'd, under the Article of *Truths relating to the Deity* †? I do not remember to have met with any private Form that has pleased me so well, or which I have thought so every way conformable to that divine Standard of Devotion we were mentioning just now.

* The last public Revival of our Liturgy was made and subscribed by the Convocation on *Friday* the 20th of *December* 1661, and passed both Houses of Parliament the *March* following. *Wheatly's* Append. to *Introd. to rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 31.

† See *Wollaston's* Rel. of Nat. del. p. 120, 121.

I am glad, (replied He,) *Philemon*, you are so much a Friend to this Author's Method of Devotion, which certainly is altogether of the *calm*, and *undisturb'd* kind; tho' at the same time it is so far from being *lifeless*, and *indifferent*, that on the contrary it is *warm'd* and *animated* with every rational and affectionate *Sentiment*, that can awaken a *devout Attention*; sufficient, one would imagine, to inspire *Thoughtfulness* into the most *dissolute* Breast, and awe even the Wildness of *Enthusiasm* itself into some Degrees of *rational Composure*. 'Tis true, this excellent Writer rather suggests to his Readers several Articles, as Heads, or Hints of Devotion, as you rightly term'd them, than gives them the *direct Form* of a Prayer. But 'tis easy to reduce them to a *direct* and *regular Form*, by a few slight Alterations; and that too conformably to the *Christian System*, tho' at present they are rather drawn up upon the Plan of *natural Religion*. To those who are desirous of a more lengthen'd, or more explicate Ritual, I should recommend those admirable Forms of Prayer which have been lately made public at the end of a celebrated Treatise upon the *Sacrament*, supposed to have come from the same *worthy Hand* with the Doctrine of the *calm and undisturbed*

Address *. They are indeed drawn up with an excellent Spirit, and great Judgment; full of warm and animated Sentiments of *Piety* towards God, expressing itself *chiefly* and *principally*, (as true *Piety* will always do) in Strains of most enlarg'd and affectionate *Charity*, and *Benevolence* towards Men. A Devotion thus temper'd and conducted is certainly one of the noblest Employments of a *rational*, and *social* Nature. It is not to be consider'd as a bare Discharge of *one* Act of our Duty, but as an excellent *Means* of forming our Minds to *Habits* of *universal Virtue*, and *Goodness*. For it calls forth every nobler and more generous Principle within us, cultivates and cherishes these natural Seeds of Worth and Excellency in our *Hearts* which will gradually ripen into *Action*, and lay the sure Foundations of a virtuous and exemplary *Character*. In a word, *Philemon*, it raises and exalts the Soul far above the utmost Refinements of the *Cloyster*, or the most *ecstasy'd Heats* of monastic *Visionaries*; for it does in reality *accomplish*, what *those* do but in vain *pretend* to, the fashioning our Souls into a *Divine Likeness*; by exercising them in all those truly *Godlike Affections*, which are the *distinguishing Marks* and *Features*

* Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament, &c.

of *Divinity* *. I the rather mention *this Author's* Forms of Devotion, as they may help to reconcile you to his *Definition* of Prayer, about which you seem'd to have some Distrust. For certainly if his Practice may be allow'd to be a good Comment upon his Sentiments, they are perfectly just, and rational in this point.

YET there are those, (said I) who find great fault with this Author's *devotional Forms*, as indeed with the *whole Doctrin*e of the Treatise to which they are annex'd.

As

* When I speak here of the *natural* good Tendencies of Prayer rightly circumstanced, I would not be understood to exclude any *superior* Helps, and Assistances to Virtue, which may be promised to it in *Scripture*. Something of *this kind* we are there sufficiently warranted to expect from it. Mean while, as to the *precise Nature*, and *Degree* of these Assistances, that is no where specially determin'd. From the Comparison our *Lord* makes use of to *illustrate* this matter to us, that of the *Wind's blowing where it listeth*, from Causes to us secret, and imperceptible, we are instructed to think, that the Workings of the *divine Spirit* are by us *undistinguishable* from those of our own *proper* and *natural Faculties*. See *John* iii. ver. 8.—And indeed were the *Scripture* wholly *silent* in the Case, the plain “ Reason
“ of the Thing would teach us, that the Benefits re-
“ ceiv'd by reasonable Creatures from any Perfor-
“ mances, must, as *our Author* speaks, be receiv'd in
“ a reasonable Way. No Duties, how well soever
“ perform'd, can be supposed to operate as Charms,
“ nor to influence us as if we were only Clock-work,
“ or Machines to be acted upon by the arbitrary
“ Force of a superior Being. In the natural and rea-
“ sonable

As to the Treatise, (replied he) no one can, I think, doubt, as well from the Nature of the Work itself, as from the *known Character* of its presumed *Author*, but that it was wrote with a most excellent Design. Every body knows, who has at all consider'd the Subject, or made any Observation upon the Conduct of most People in ordinary Life in relation to the *Sacrament*, with what a multitude of *absurd Superstitions* this Institution of our *Lord's*, originally plain, and simple in itself, has been incumber'd by the Weakness, or Corruption of succeeding Ages of Christians. Sometimes it has been set forth to view with so thoroughly *forbidding* an Aspect,

as

“sonable Tendency of them we ought to found our “main Expectations.” *Nature and End of the Sacrament*, p. 154, 155.—This by the way may suggest to us how *necessary* a thing a *discreet* and *well-order'd Choice* is in the *Matter* of our *Devotions*. The Sentiments to which we *familiarise* our Minds by the *constant Returns* of our *Devotional Exercises*, will not fail to have a great Influence upon the Conduct of our Lives *in general*; especially, as they come always attended with a *religious Impression*. Particularly, we should do well to select for our Purpose *such Forms chiefly* as are most *apt* to improve our *Virtue*, and to inspire us with an *enlarg'd*, and *active Benevolence*. The *contrary* whereof is so *visible* in the *narrow* and *contracted Sentiments* of too many *Religionists*, that one cannot help suspecting *their Devotion* is *form'd* upon quite *other Principles*. For my part, I am verily persuaded, that, as nothing has a *better Effect* upon the *natural*

as a matter of such infinite *Hazard*, and *Difficulty*, that weak and honest Minds have been discouraged from it by the unnatural *Terror* of its Appearance; and so a plain Command has been neglected, for fear of an *unworthy Performance* of it. At others, it has been represented so much in the nature of a *religious Charm*, that many have been brought to lay an *unwarranted Stress* upon this *one Act* of Religion, to the prejudice of *all* besides; and so a punctual *Discharge* of their Duty in this *one respect* has been abused into a liberty of violating it in *every other*. Now the undeceiving People of both these Prejudices is certainly a Design which every good Man must rejoice to see well executed. And this is the very Point our Author labours

tural Temper, than a *manly, rational, benevolent Devotion*, so nothing does so effectually *sour* and *spoil* it, as that *illiberal, narrow, and ungenerous sort of Devotion* which is too commonly taught and practised by People of a *Religious Turn*. Far from *opening* and *enlarging* the Mind to Views of *impartial, and unlimited Benevolence*, it inspires in it's stead, as a *polite Author* has well express'd it, "a sort of *supernatural Charity, which considering the future Lives and Happiness of Mankind instead of the present, and extending itself wholly to another World, has made us leap the Bounds of natural Humanity in this; has rais'd Antipathies which no temporal Interest could ever do, and taught us the way of plaguing one another most devoutly.*" *Charact.* vol. 1. p. 18.—It may not be amiss to observe here, that this way of thinking is not a little countenanced by the very *Turn and Composition* of that excellent Form of Prayer which was recommended to us by the *divine Author* of
our

bours in the Performance we are speaking of. And indeed as he undertook it with a truly Rational and Christian Intention, he seems to me to have discharged it with admirable Success. Thus much, I think, must be said; that so long as Men are content to take their Notions of this Institution from the Institutor *himself*, and not from the Comments of Men in *after-times* pretending to be *wise above that which is written*, our Author's general Doctrines at

our Religion *himself*. The *Lord's Prayer*, 'tis well known, runs throughout in the *plural Number*. We are instructed to say, *Our Father*, Give *Us* this day, Forgive *Us*, Lead *Us* not, Deliver *Us*, &c. all of them Petitions of *universal Extent* and *Comprehension*, to be made in the *behalf* of *all Mankind*, as well as of *ourselves*. Should not this teach us, that an *inlarged, universal Benevolence* ought ever to accompany our *religious Addresses*? And indeed, to consider a little the plain Reason of the thing, when can we so properly awaken in our Souls a strong *Sense* and *Conviction* of our *common Alliance* to one another as *Beings* of the *same Nature* and *Species*, as when we are in a more *especial* Manner presenting ourselves before *that great Being* who is the *common Parent* of our *Species*? who has signified to us his good Pleasure, in a Language far more *emphatical* and *expressive* than any *external Declaration*, even the Language of our own *Hearts*, that *universal unlimited Benevolence* should be as much the *standing Law* of the *moral World*, as *Gravitation* is of the *natural*? and that the *Body-social* should be as firmly knit together in Love by the *Cords of a Man*, as the Scripture elegantly speaks, the Ties of mutual Kindness and good Affection, as *natural Bodies* are held together in their respective Cohesions by the mutual Attractions of their several Parts?

least

least must stand clear of all reasonable Exception. And as to any *other* Points of Controversy, lying out of the Compass of his *general* Design, which he may have incidentally touched upon in the Course of his Writing, he has delivered his Sentiments of them so *sparingly*, and in so *general* a way, that the *most* that can be made out of *them* will amount to nothing more than *Conjecture*. And therefore it should seem, that the attacking him in this *indirect* Method favours a little of a Disposition to supply the Defect of a more explicate Charge against the main Body of the *Work*, by blowing up Prejudices against the *personal* Reputation of the *Author*; an Artifice certainly most ungenerous, however common with the Writers in religious Controversies! The *justest* that can be said of such sort of Attacks upon him, is, that they are wholly foreign to the Purpose.

AND as the Dislike which some People have shewn to the Treatise itself, seems to have arisen rather from *uncertain Suspicions* of the Author's *general* way of thinking; than from any supposed *false* Doctrines he has *directly* asserted in it; so I am inclined to think, this has been full as much the Case in respect to the devotional Forms. This I am pretty sure of, *Philemon*; that if they

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discover

discover less of *partial* Regards to *particular Systems*, than futes the narrowed Genius of some Men's Religion, they breath a much *diviner* Spirit, even that of *universal Charity*, and *Forbearance*. If they afford less Scope to the irregular Sallies of the *Passions* in Religion, than futes the Warmth of some Men's Tempers, they give abundant Exercise to the nobler Principles of *Reason*, and *Social-Affection*. And let Men refine as much as they please, whatever goes beyond *these*, under the Pretext of a more *exalted* Devotion, it is not, as we have seen, *Piety*, but *Enthusiasm*, of which, I hope, you are by this time made sufficiently acquainted with the true Original, and Lineage.

I was so, (I confess'd) and I thought myself much obliged to him for leading me so agreeably into the Discovery of it. You have (said I) abundantly convinced me of what I did not suspect before, that it has its Foundation in a certain *Make* and *Constitution* of Men's *Bodies*; and after all the pompous things that are said of it by Men of Fancy and Imagination, is at the bottom only a more *disguised* way of Indulging a very ordinary *natural Passion*. 'Tis in short little else but being very *religiously* in love, a sort of "*bot Devotion*,
 " residing,

“ residing,” as a lively Writer expresses it,
 “ altogether in the Blood *.”

AFTER you have given up this *devotional Habit* (interrupted *Hortensius*) to be nothing more than a *particular Effect* of a *Reigning Passion*; need I put you in mind of pursuing the same Principle *throughout*, in order to account for those other religious Extravagancies you was complaining of some time ago?

I see what you are driving at, (returned I:) As I agreed to resolve the *devotee Character* in Religion into an *amorous Constitution*, so you would have me resolve the *hermitical and austere Character* into a *timorous, gloomy, and phlegmatic* one.

WHEN *Calidus*, in the *Violence* of his Attachment to particular Modes of *Opinion*, is denouncing *Wrath* and *Destruction* against all who have the misfortune to differ from him, and with a kind of malicious Pleasure hurling the Thunderbolts of *divine Vengeance* upon many *wiser and soberer Heads* than his *own*; his *excessive Zeal*, you would have me believe, is nothing else but a more *sanctified* sort of *Choler*. *Pride, Spleen, Lust of Power and Dominion*, with all the blacker Tribe of *Pas-*

* Independent Whig, 12mo. p. 204. 6 Ed. vol. i.
 N 2 *sions,*

sions, are the *Springs* that set his *orthodox Resentments* at work. The Reverend Furioso would, as a ludicrous Author has it, “be as peevish at his Table, as in his Pulpit;” and “would certainly quarrel, and kick over his Claret, as well as over his Cushion*.”

WHEN *Flavia* betrays such an *intemperate Fondness* for all the outward *Ceremonials* of Religion, that she will needs practise them over with a most *scrupulous Exactness*, tho’ at the expence of many *weightier Duties*; I am to look upon her Religion as one Species of her *natural Preciseness*. She has an *insignificant Punctuality* in her Temper, which enters into her *religious Oeconomy*. She is in short the same *Trifler*, and *Formalist* in her *spiritual Concerns*, that she is in those of her *ordinary Life*.

SEVERUS therefore places all *Sanctity* in a *contracted Brow*, and a *morose Behaviour*; because he has a *natural Reserve*, and *Sullenness* in his Temper.

WHEN *Sempronia* darts about her *indiscreet Reproofs*; and lectures and moralizes upon the most *improper Occasions*, without any regard to *Times*, *Places*, or

* *Indep. Whig*, p. 204.

Persons ; she is only proving how *secretly* and *securely* a most *inordinate Vanity* and *Affectation* can run it's utmost lengths, under the *artful Cover* of *religious Pretences*.

“ IN short, wherever there is any thing
 “ overstrain'd, unnatural, or extravagant in
 “ Religious Life, the true Ground of it al-
 “ ways lies in the *prevailing Biass* of Men's
 “ *natural Tempers*, disguising itself, as you
 “ observed at our first Entrance upon this
 “ Topic, under a *Religious Appearance*,
 “ and Application.”

Y o u take my meaning perfectly right, (replied *Hortensius*;) and the *natural Conclusion* which arises from the *whole* is *this*;
 “ That *Religion itself* should ever be care-
 “ fully distinguish'd from the *Conduct* of
 “ *particular Religionists* ; and not re-
 “ proach'd, as it too often happens, with
 “ those *adulterous* and *foreign Mixtures*
 “ which have so large a share in many
 “ supposed *Religious Characters*.” These
 are Matter of private and personal Charge
 only, which it lies upon the several *inter-
 ested Parties* to answer to. Mean while,
 how nearly it concerns those who have a
 real Regard for the *Interests* of *Religion*, to
 wipe off any unjust Aspersions to which it
 may have been expos'd upon *their* account,
 let *themselves* be Judges.

A N D

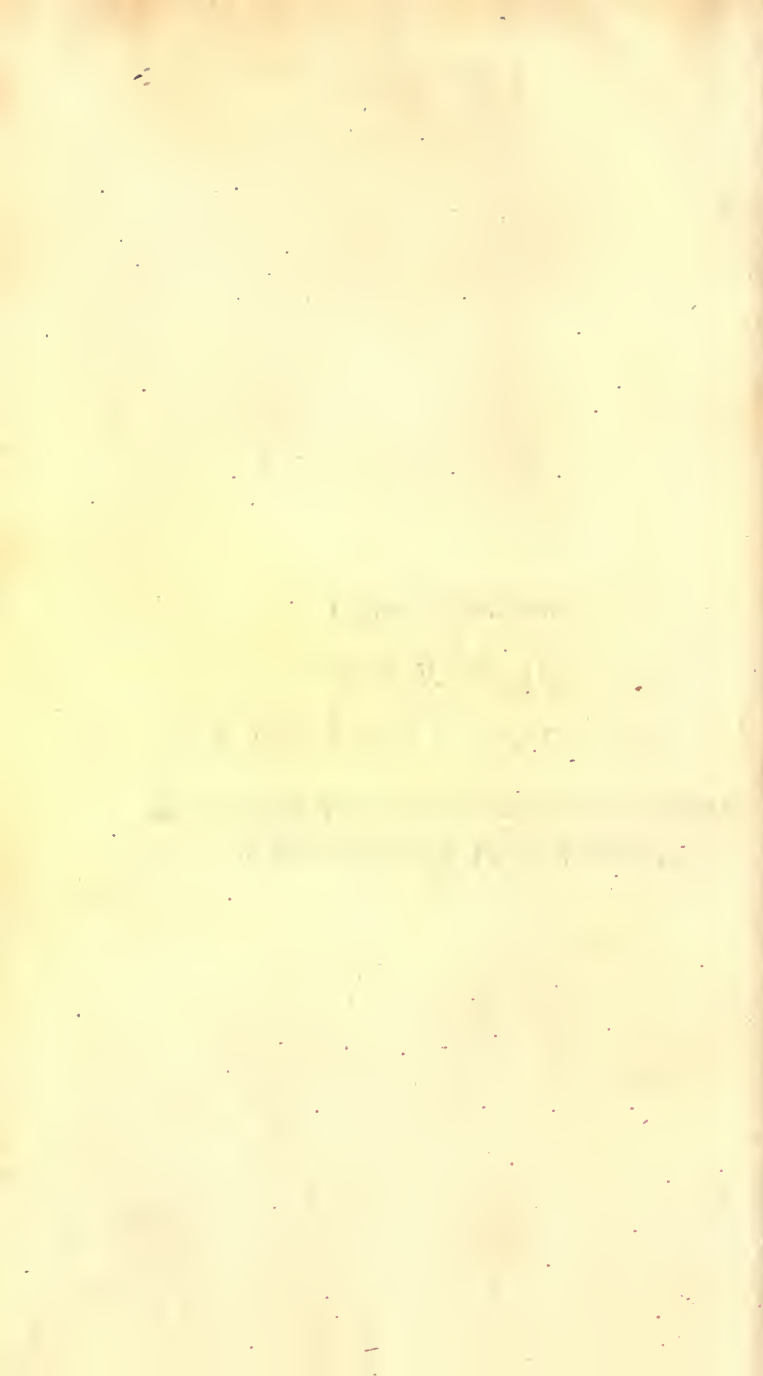
AND thus, *Philemon*, I have complied with your Request, in laying before you my last Night's Train of Thought.—By this time, I dare say, you have enough of an out-of-the-way *Speculation*—let us now break loose from these serious Engagements, and return to the ordinary Affairs of Life.

F I N I S.



Mistakes of the Press.

PA G E 6. line 10. *latter*, for *later*. p. 24. l. 1. in the Note *most* for *very*. p. 35. l. 14. in the Note $\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ for $\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. also line 16. $\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\omega$ for $\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\omega$. p. 61. l. 5. in the Note *bear*, for *breathe*. p. 68. l. 4. in the Note, *chagrin*, for *chagrine*. also l. 16. *demeure*, for *demeuré*. p. 84. l. 19, 20. the Sentence, *and lay the sure Foundations of a virtuous and exemplary Character*, is desired to be changed into, *and abound to all the Graces of a perfect Character*.



PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A SECOND CONVERSATION with
HORTENSIVS upon the Subject of
FALSE RELIGION.

In which is asserted

The GENERAL LAWFULNESS of
PLEASURE;

AND

EXTRAVAGANT SEVERITIES of some
religious Systems are shewn to be a direct
CONTRADICTION to the *Natural* Appoint-
ment and Constitution of Things.

τοῦτο δὲ πάσης μὲν περιεχέσθαι, καὶ παντὶ, ἀλο-
γιστοῦν ἐστὶ, πᾶσαν δὲ φευγεῖν, καὶ παντὶ, ἀναισθητόν.
Plut. con. sep. Sap. Ed. Xyl. p. 158.

L O N D O N:

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*By the Author*

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES,
&c.

I SHOULD have imagin'd, my *Hydaspes*, had I not known you to be very different from the generality of polite People, that you would have been sufficiently tired with so *grave* a Topic as *Religion*, after the Recital I had made you of an intire Morning's Conversation carried on professedly upon

B that

that Subject. Men of Spirit and Vivacity can seldom relish any thing serious long together. A Reflection or two in passing is the most they are ordinarily willing to submit to. I have often been inclin'd to think the *awkard Solemnity*, with which we are commonly taught Religion makes the thought of it so unpleasant to us ever afterwards. Just as some People contract a Dislike to *Letters* from *illiberal Impressions* of the Harshness and Severity of *School-Discipline*. Could we but once free Religion from this *over-solemn Air*, and disperse the *false Gloom*, which our *Nurseries* have thrown about it, we might possibly procure it a freer Reception, and more frequent, and familiar Entertainment in the World. It might then be no longer confined to the Recesses of the Cloyster, the Seats of Mopishness, Superstition, and Bigotry ; but be sometimes permitted to make its appearance even in *good Company* ; and be brought into some degree of Credit and Reputation amongst the polite and fashionable part of Mankind. It was thus, *Hydaspes*, that I endeavoured lately to introduce *Religion* to your Thoughts, in that *freer Air*, and more *liberal Manner*, in which she had been pourtray'd to me by the excellent hand of *Hortensius* * ; a Man,

* See a Pamphlet intitled *Phil. to Hyd.* 1736.

who,

who, as I have often represented him to you,

*always speaks his thought,
And always thinks the very thing he ought* *.

It seems, you are so far from being displeased with the report of our Conference, that you have engaged me to recollect any farther particulars that might afterwards pass between us, in pursuance of the same Argument. For it could not be, you are of opinion, that a single Morning should have sufficed me to have discussed so copious a Theme, and of which you know me to have so remarkable a Fondness.

YOUR Conjecture is not ill founded. Having gone so far into the Subject, I was not easily disingag'd from it. I was ever and anon relapsing insensibly into the same train of Thought; pursuing and applying the Principles we had already established; and could scarce converse with any thing so intirely foreign to it, but served in some way or other to renew the Impression.

ONE Afternoon, as *Hortensius* and I were taking the air on horseback, What think you, (said he) of our making a visit to my Neighbour *Clito*? you will find him

* Mr. *Pope's* second Sat. of Hor. im. lin. 135.

a very sensible agreeable man ; I shall be glad to introduce you to his Acquaintance. Besides, you will be much pleas'd with a sight of his *Villa* ; he has been at a considerable expence in the Improvement of it ; in which he has shewn himself to be Master of a very polite and genteel Taste. You are a sort of *Connoisseur* this way, you will have an opportunity of passing your own Judgment upon it.

I could have no Objection (you will imagine) to so agreeable a Proposal. About an Hour's ride thro' a very pleasant Country brought us thither. We were receiv'd by *Clito* with an easy Civility, the genuine result of true Politeness. *Hortensius* would have excus'd the liberty of introducing an intire Stranger, but *Clito* would hear nothing of that sort : You cannot (said he) oblige me more, *Hortensius*, than by bringing me into an acquaintance with any Friend of yours.

OUR first Ceremonies being over, I soon took occasion to say something of the Agreeableness of the Place and Situation, which was such as to strike one at first sight. It was an Instance (I observed) of that good Taste, which seemed indeed to discover itself on all hands, that *Clito* had made choice of so beautiful a Spot to build
on ;

on ; where, without being too much exposed, he had the Command of so fine a Country.

I have often (said he) been surprised, *Philemon*, considering how much depends upon a good Situation, to find so little regard had to this, where even a prodigal Expence seemed to have been employed to make every thing else as complete as possible.

'Twas not (observed *Hortensius*) in every body's power to command equal Advantages this way. Nature might be said to have her *favorite* spots, to which she was more than ordinarily liberal of her Bounties ; and which did, as it were, *bespeak* Improvement by leaving, if the Paradox might pass, so little room for *any*.

WERE one to judge (returned I) by the Practice of some People, who yet would not be thought to want Taste, one would imagine the *reverse* of this Rule was to take place. They pitch upon the most barren and desolate Spots to build on, as if the Perfection of *Art* were to cross *Nature* ; and are at infinitely more Expence to make a bad Situation *tolerable*, than would answer to make a more advantageous one *delightful*.

IT

IT is this Vanity of Expence, (replied *Hortensius*) that puts People upon such unnatural Projects.

POSSIBLY (said *Clito*) they are of opinion, that they have more of the Merit of their Designs to *themselves*, the less they are beholden for any Hints of them to *Nature*. To cultivate a bleak barren Scene, and give Beauties where Nature seems to have been more than ordinarily sparing of them, they may esteem a sort of voluntary Creation, in which the force of the Artist's *own Genius* is at full liberty to display itself: whereas in a more advantageous Situation, much of his work is done beforehand, and *Art* has little else to do but to assist *Nature*, to proceed upon those Hints which she suggests, and to follow where she points out the way.

AND to do this with any *competent Effect*, (said I) may sufficiently exercise the Invention of the most ingenious Designer. Nay, I question whether it be not in some Cases a greater trial of Skill not to *destroy*, or *weaken* a *natural* Beauty, than it can be in others to *introduce* an *artificial* one. This I am very sure of, that there is no hope of any considerable Success, where *Nature* and *Art* do not go hand in hand.

Without

Without this, whatever other Beauties there may be, a main one will still be wanting; a certain easy *Simplicity* of *Manners*, which *Nature* only can give.

'Tis this (interposed *Hortensius*) that I have always thought the great Recommendation of my Friend *Clito's* Method of designing. Here, *Philemon*, is none of that *studied Regularity*, which displeases by a perpetual Sameness and Repetition of

*Grove nods at Grove, each Ally has a Brother,
And half the Platform just reflects the other*.*

The poor result of a *confined Taste*, and a *Littleness* of Design! But a certain *agreeable Wildness* prevails thro the whole, which as it resembles *Nature* in its *Beauty*, resembles it also in its *Use*, (a sure mark that it is natural!) by suiting itself to the unequal Temper of our Climate, and varying with all the Varieties of our Seasons.

You are very obliging, (said *Clito*) but take care that by raising your Friend's Expectations too high, *Hortensius*, you do not prepare him to be more eminently disappointed. Something, 'tis true, of the kind you have been describing is attempted here in little, and indeed the Nature of our

* Mr. Pope's Epist. to my Lord Burlington, 115.

English Climate, as you rightly observ'd, where a Man may often go to bed in *June* and rise in *December*, makes it not only agreeable, but necessary. How well this purpose is really answer'd, *Philemon* will be best Judge for himself, if he will be at the trouble of looking a little about him.

WITH all my heart, (said I) *Clito*, it will be a very particular Pleasure to me. ———Accordingly, having first taken a view of the House, in which a general Neatness, Usefulness, and *elegant Simplicity*, seem'd to have taken place of *opposite* Grandeur, and a Profusion of *studied* Ornaments and *incumber'd* Magnificence, we were conducted into the Gardens, where I soon found what *Hortensius* had been saying of them, was much more than a Compliment. The Disposition was easy and natural, arising wholly out of the Genius of the *Place*; and the several Beauties seem'd not so properly brought *into* it, as resulting *from* it. The Interchanges of Shade and Opening, level and raised Ground, Garden and Forest, were adjusted with great Art, so as best to *relieve* and *set off* each the other; and withal to take in or exclude the view of the Country about us, as either was judged most *agreeable* in the general Plan. Whilst the Eye was taken up with the various Forms of beautiful Objects,

Objects that presented themselves in their respective *Assignments*, such as *Theatres*, *Temples*, *Statues*, *Urns*, *Obelisks*, the other Senses were as agreeably entertained with the multiplied Fragrances of natural Scents, the warbling Music of Birds, or the soothing Softness of aquatic Murmurs. In short, *Hydaspes*, I never saw a more delightful Scene. I was so much taken with it, that we passed the intire remainder of our Visit in rambling there from place to place, 'till the Evening insensibly came upon us.

IN our return home, *Philemon*, (said *Hortensius* to me) I hope you do not think we have disposed of our Afternoon amiss.

FAR from it, (returned I) I never passed one more to my satisfaction. You know I am a great lover of all natural Improvements. *Clito* has really an excellent turn this way. You are very happy, *Hortensius*, in so agreeable a Neighbour. He is a Man of strong Sense, and a very polite and improved Conversation.

I have sometimes thought, (replied he) *Philemon*, there is a sort of natural Connexion between what is called a *fine Taste* of the *politer Arts* of Life, and a general *Polishedness* of *Manners*, and *inward Character*. Men of a refined Imagination have

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usually

usually a *larger* way of thinking than others. They discover a *Delicacy* of *Sentiment*, and *Generosity* of *Spirit*, which less *improved* Minds are wholly strangers to. Should it not seem, *Philemon*, that being perpetually conversant in the Ideas of *natural Beauty*, *Order*, and *Proportion*, their *Temper*s insensibly take a *Polish* from the *Objects* of their *Studies* and *Contemplations*? They *transcribe*, as it were, something of that *Grace* and *Symmetry* they are so fond of in *external* Subjects into the *inward* Frame and Disposition of their own Minds*.

THE

* As soon, says the Author of the Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, as a Heart, before hard and obdurate, is softened in this Flame, (he is speaking of Benevolence) we shall observe, arising along with it, a Love of *Poetry*, *Musick*, the *Beauty* of *Nature* in rural Scenes, a neat *Dress*, a *humane* Deportment, a Delight in, and Emulation of every thing which is *gallant*, *generous*, and *friendly*. *Inquiry* p. 258. May not the reverse of this Observation be equally true? This is certain, says an eminent Writer, that the Admiration, and Love of *Order*, *Harmony*, and *Proportion*, in whatever kind, is naturally improving to the *Temper*, advantageous to social Affection, and highly assistant to Virtue; which is itself no other than the Love of Order and Beauty in Society. *Characteristicks*, vol. 2. p. 75.—Whoever, says another approved Author, find themselves insensible to the Charms of Poetry and Music, would, I think, do well to keep their own Counsel; for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into question. Sir *W. Temple's* Miscel. vol. 2.

THE *Virtuosi*, (said I) *Hortensius*, are much obliged to you. I wish they were always careful to make good an Observation so much in their Favour. I am afraid the *polite Arts* are sometimes cultivated by Men, who have no great Taste of *moral Accomplishments*.

THEN they are by no means the *Virtuosi* they would be esteemed, (return'd he.) No man has a just Claim to this Character, in whom the *Virtuoso-Passion*, the Love of *Beauty, Order, Proportion*, does not prevail *throughout*, and influence his *general*

p. 62.—Were we to extend this Observation even to the inferior Elegancies of Dress, as insignificant a Particular as it may seem to some People, we should not want a very good Authority in our favour; the polite and philosophic Poet in his Epistle to *Mæcenæ*, having given a sufficient Sanction to this way of reasoning

*Si curtatus inæquali tonsore capillos
Occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexæ
Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides: quid mea cum pugnat sententia secum?*

Hor. Epist. lib. i. Epist. i. v. 94.—and upon the same Principle *Seneca* mentions it as a very strong Proof of Depravity in certain effeminate Characters of his time, that they were offended at little Irregularities in the Oeconomy of their *Persons* at the same time that they had no Sense of much worse Disorders in real *Life* and *Manners*. *Quomodo irascuntur*, says he, *si tonsor paullo negligentior fuit? quis est istorum, qui non malit rempublicam suam turbari, quam comam? qui non comptior esse malit, quam honestior?* —*L. A. Sen.* de Brev. Vit. lib. p. 505, 506.

Conduct*. For let us consider, *Philemon*. Having once establish'd a *Correctness* of Taste and *Elegance* of Fancy in the things of *outward* Grace and Ornament, shall we be such *poor* and *scanty* Thinkers, as to give it no *scope* in Subjects of a *nobler* kind? shall we be so little consistent with ourselves, as to be inamour'd of the *Harmony* of Sounds, and have no Sense of *inward* Numbers, the *measures* of *Action*, the *nicer* Tones of *Passion* and *Sentiment*†? Being Masters of
a

* 'Tis upon this Principle the noble Author before referred to says, He is persuaded that to be a *Virtuoso*, so far as befits a Gentleman, is a Step towards the becoming a Man of Virtue, and good Sense. *Character.* vol. 1. 333. And again, 'Tis impossible we can advance the least in any Relish or Taste of outward Symmetry and Order, without acknowledging that the proportionate and regular State is the truly prosperous and natural in every Subject. Should not this, one would imagine, be still the same Case, and hold equally as to the Mind? Vol. 3. 180, 181. and elsewhere.

† ——— *Non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis;
Sed veræ numerosque, modosque, ediscere vitæ.*

Hor. Epist. Lib. 2. Epist. 2. v. 143. ——— 'Αἱ μῦσαι (says *Mnesiphilus* in *Plutarch*) πανταπασιν ἡμᾶς μεμψαίντο, εἰ νομιζομεν αὐτῶν ἐργον εἶναι κιθάραν καὶ αὐλὴς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ παιδεύειν τὰ ἤθη, καὶ παρηγορεῖν τὰ παθή των χρωμένων μελεσι καὶ ἀρμονίαις. *Con. sep. Sap.* 156.

*How four sweet Music is,
When Time is broke, and no Proportion kept?
So is it in the Music of Men's Lives.
And here have I the Daintiness of Ear*

a *judicious Eye* in the Works of *Painting* and *Statuary*, shall we be *blind* to all the *Charms* of *moral Limning*, the *Proportions* of *real Life* and *Manners*? Whilst we are *scrupulously exact* in the *Models* of our Houses, the *Disposition* of *Ornaments*, the *Ordering* of *Gardens*, *Avenues*, *Plantations*, shall we have no regard to the *living Architecture* of our *own Minds*? no thought of *inward Imbellishment*? no taste of the more *beautiful Oeconomy* of a human *Heart*, the *Order* and *Disposition* of its *Affections*? Never surely can our *Imagination* rest wholly in the mere *mechanic* and *sensible* Forms of *Beauty*; seeing there is provided for it a far more *refined* Entertainment in the *Theory* of *moral Excellence*. For no where, *Philemon*, does the *Charm* of *Beauty* so forcibly prevail as in the *moral Species*. 'Tis to this the *Virtuoso* must have recourse for the *highest* Gratifications of his own *favorite Passion*. *Virtue* alone is the *Truth* and *Perfection* of *Virtuosity*. And as abstracted a way of reasoning as it may be thought, 'tis however a very just one; that a *correct Imagination* and a *dissolute Character* are the greatest *Contradictions* in

*To hear Time broke in a disorder'd String :
But for the Concord of my State and Time
Had not an Ear to hear my true Time broke !*

Shakespear's Life and Death of Richard the second.
A very just and pathetic Reproach this to himself !

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the World *. 'Tis thus, *Philemon*, that I have sometimes been led to consider the *Virtuoso-Arts* as a more *refined* and *disguised* sort of *moral Discipline*; by which Men of *freer Spirits* are sometimes *unawares* trained up to a sense of *Duty* and *inward Worth*, who would never be prevailed upon to listen to a more *direct* and *formal* method of Instruction.

A *happy* way of *moralizing* this indeed, (said I) *Hortensius*! to learn our *Duty* in our very *Pleasures*, and extract *Wisdom* and *Virtue* even from the *Luxuries* and *Elegancies* of Life! But how then is it that we often find the Masters of Morality representing *these* things in so very different a Light? They are so far from considering them as *Means* or *Helps* to *Virtue*, that they will not even allow them to be so much as *compatible* with it; a great part of our *Duty* consisting, as they tell us, in

* Let such Gentlemen as these (of Taste) be as extravagant as they please, or as irregular in their Morals, they must at the same time discover their Inconsistency, live at variance with themselves, and in contradiction to that Principle, on which they ground their highest Pleasure or Entertainment. *Charact.* Vol. I. 136.—For all Vice is Disorder, Confusion, and a perpetual Discord of Life—*Æstuat, & vitæ disconvenit ordine toto*—is its true Character. In vain is the Love of Order, Proportion, Symmetry, pretended in the midst of such flagrant Incongruities.

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the *absolute Contempt* and *Renunciation* of them.

I know no Authority they have to say so, (replied *Hortensius* :) there is certainly nothing in the nature of the things *themselves*, that determines the *Use* of them to be *unlawful*. That it may be so in *particular* Cases is owing to *accidental* Circumstances; and is no more than may be said of the *best* and most *innocent* things in the World. The most improved *Elegancies* of Life are no more *immoral* in *themselves*, than its *cheapest* and *coarsest* *Accommodations*. There is as little Crime in building a *Palace* to some People, as there is to others in raising a *Cottage*. *Painting* and *Gilding* and other *ornamental Arts* are as allowable in their own nature, as the use of *Dirt* or *Stones*. For “ what greater Immorality is
 “ there, as an ingenious Author expresses it,
 “ in the Work of the finest Chizel, or the
 “ nicest Plane, than in that of an Ax, or a
 “ Saw * ? ” Moreover, to what purpose can we imagine the Skill and Capacity of Mankind to *improve* and better their Condition of Being to have been given them, if they are not at *liberty* to make *use* of it? In short, *Philemon*, there can be no Argu-

* Inquiry whether a general Practice of Virtue tends to the Wealth or Poverty of a People. Sect. 3. p. 36.

ment of the *absolute Unlawfulness* even of what you call the *Luxuries of Life*, but may be urged with *equal Force* against the most *ordinary Comforts*, I had almost said the very *Necessaries* of it. For these can only differ in *Degree*, not in *Kind*; and if it be allowed us to provide for the Happiness of our *present Being* in a *less* degree, it will be difficult to give a Reason why we should not do so in a *greater*, even in the *greatest* we are capable of. I speak in general, and not of *particular Cases* and *Circumstances*.

I am glad, (said I) *Hortensius*, to find you of opinion that *Pleasure* and *Virtue* are such good *Friends*. I thought they had been always represented, as in the *Grecian Fable*, drawing quite *different ways* *. I am sure I could mention some Writers in Morality, who lay as great a stress upon *Self-denial*, as if it was indeed the very *Essence* of all *Virtue*. And yet when one considers the Matter *closely*, one cannot but suspect there must be some Error in the Account; for if *Self-denial*, as *such*, have any *Merit* in it, the Conse-

* ΕΥΘΕΙΣ ὡς πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἢ κακίαν υπολαβόντα εἶπεν, ὡς χαλεπὴν καὶ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐφροσύνης ἢ γυνῆ σοὶ αὕτη διηγείται. Ἐγὼ δὲ ῥαδίαν καὶ ἑραχίαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἀξῶ σε. *Xen. de Mem. Soc. lib. 2.*

quence is unavoidable, that the *greater* Self-denial, the *greater* Degree of Virtue. But this is more than they *themselves* will admit of; and indeed it is a Notion that leads to infinite *Absurdities*.

NOT *greater* (said *Hortensius*) than have been *actually* practiced in many parts of the World upon this very Principle. The *Austerities* to which People have submitted upon a false Persuasion of *Religion* are almost as incredible, as they are shocking.

I could wish (said I) we might examine a little more particularly into the Merits of this Question; and inquire upon what foundation a Persuasion so extravagant in itself, and so mischievous in its Consequences to the Peace and Happiness of Mankind, should yet have so commonly prevailed in the World.

AT present (replied *Hortensius*) we are too near home to enter upon so large a Topic. We will adjourn it, if you please, till to-morrow Evening; when, if the Weather prove favourable for our *walking* as usual, it may afford us no unuseful matter of Entertainment.



P A R T II.

AS great a Friend as you know me to be, *Hydaspes*, to *fair Weather* and *Sunshine*, believe me I never gave it a more *sincere* welcome than upon looking out the next Morning. The greatest part of the Day we were obliged to attend some Company that came in upon us. But the Interruptions of *other* Subjects could not keep my Thoughts from glancing often upon *that* which we had so lately entered upon, and which was by agreement to imploy our Evening's Speculation: insomuch that I was sometimes, I am afraid, less attentive to the general Conversation that was carrying on, than I could well justify to myself in point of Good-Breeding and Civility. When the Afternoon was pretty far advanc'd, our Visitants, who came from some distance, were obliged to leave us. *Hortensius* had little more than time to give some necessary Orders in his Family, before the Heat of the Day was enough worn off to invite us abroad in one of the most delightful Evenings I have ever known.

I was going to remind him of the Point he had engaged to speak to, when I found myself very agreeably prevented by his breaking into it of his own accord in the following manner.—The *Stillness* of the *Evening*, (said he) *Philemon*, is at all times a very considerable Help to serious Reflection. It *sooths* and *composes* our Thoughts, and throws the Mind into a State of *Peace* and *Tranquillity* analogous to *that* of itself. But never surely can the *Advantages* of it be more *conspicuous* than in the Disquisition we are now to enter upon concerning the general *Lawfulness* of *Pleasure*; seeing it does *itself* abound with so many *refined* and *exquisite* *Entertainments* necessarily *offering* themselves to our *Sense*, as may in great measure decide the Point to our hands, and render all other Proofs superfluous. How *charming*, *Philemon*, appears the *whole Face* of *Nature* about us! What an *uniform Variety* in those natural Landscapes! what a *delightful Melody* in the Woods! what an *agreeable Verdure* in the Meadows! what a *cooling Freshness* in the Air! what an *exquisite Fragrancy* in the mingled Scents of Shrubs and Flowers! whilst, as *Milton* elegantly speaks,

gentle Gales
Fanning their odoriferous Wings dispense
D 2 Native

*Native Perfumes, and whisper whence they
stole
Their balmy Spoils*.*

Above all, *Philemon*, what an inimitable *Scene of Beauty* is now offering itself to our Observation in the View of yonder *setting Sun* innobled with all that diversity of finely painted Clouds, which, as if desirous to continue his Presence amongst us, seem, as it were, to *retard* the *parting Ray*, and give it back again to our Sight in those multiplied Reflexions, which *adorn* the Western Horizon! At the same time, behold there in the East the *Moon's more sober Light* † beginning to disclose itself! See her *rising*, as the same divine *Milton* has it, in *clouded Majesty* ‖! And, as the *Strength* of Day-light gradually wears away, preparing to introduce the *milder Graces* to the Evening! Who can reflect on the *delightful Vicissitude*, and not feel a secret Transport springing up in his Breast, the Expression of a devout Gratitude towards the beneficent *Author* of his Happiness? But how, *Philemon*, does the Rapture yet grow upon us, when, borrowing Helps from a more *improved Philosophy*, we consider the Glories we are now sur-

* *Par. Lost*, Book IV. 155.

† Mr. *Pope's* Epist. of the Char. of Women, 158.

‖ *Par. Lost*. B. IV. 606, 7.

veying,

veying, not as confined to the little Globe of our *Earth*, to the Observation of a few retired *Speculatists here* like *ourselves*; but that a *Scene* of the *same* kind may probably in every conceivable Moment of Duration be presenting itself to some or other of the rational Inhabitants of those *numberless Worlds* which lie diffused in the wide *Expanses of Æther*; and be entertaining the curious *Spectator* of Nature in Regions of so immense a Distance from our own, that the Imagination turns giddy at the very thought of it! For who shall presume to set bounds to the Productions of *infinite Power* actuated by *infinite Benevolence*? Who shall circumscribe the *Theatre* upon which an *Omnipotent Goodness* may think proper to display itself? Questionless those *sparkling Fires* which are preparing to roll over our Heads have a *nobler Use* than barely to spangle our particular *Hemisphere*; a Benefit which every *passing Cloud* can deprive us of!—How much more rational is it to consider them as the several *Suns* of different *Systems* of *Planets*, dispensing to them the *invaluable* Comforts of Light, and Heat, and refreshing Influences; and in particular affording them the *grateful Returns* of Day and Night, whose *mutual Interchanges* may contribute, as they do with us, to *relieve* and *recommend* each the other?

I am entirely of your opinion, (said I) *Hortensius*; the Contemplation of Nature in *rural Scenes* is one of the most *delightful Entertainments* that the Mind of Man is capable of. Pleasures of this kind, if they have not so much of *Tumult* in them as the *sprightlier* Joys of the *mis-named* Voluptuous, have much more of *real* Satisfaction. Moreover, they leave a good Relish behind them when they are past; and, which is of much higher Consideration, are calculated to *improve*, as well as *entertain* our Thoughts. They *refine* our Spirits, and *humanize* our Tempers; soften the Mind into a Forgetfulness of *Wrath*, *Malice*, and every *turbulent* and *disquieting* Passion *; give *amiable* Impressions of Na-

* What Anger, Envy, Hatred, or Revenge, can long torment his Breast, whom not only the greatest and noblest Objects, but every Sand, every Pebble, every Grass, every Earth, every Fly can divert? to whom the return of every Season, every Month, every Day, do suggest a Circle of most pleasant Reflections? If the Ancients prescribed it as a sufficient Remedy against such violent Passions only to repeat the *Alphabet* over, whereby Leisure was given to the Mind to recover itself from any sudden Fury, then how much more effectual Medicines against the same Distempers may be fetched from the whole *Alphabet* of *Nature*, which represents itself to our Consideration in so many infinite Volumes! *Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Soc.* p. 345.

ture,

ture, Mankind, and a *Deity** ; inspire an *inlarg'd* Sense of *public Good*, an *exquisite* Taste of *Liberty*, *Humanity*, and *private Friendship*. They put us in good *Humor* with *ourselves*, and with the *general Scheme* and *Constitution* of things†.

OF all natural Speculations (resum'd *Hortensius*) there is none more calculated to refine and humanize the Mind, to give

* Those who have a Relish of the Beauties of Nature seem to converse, as it were, with Deity in its *kindest* and most *ingaging* Appearances; not so much in the *Majesty* of Omnipotence, as in the *Mildness* of Love and Benignity.

† 'Tis observable, we are never so well inclined towards other People, as when we are most in humor with ourselves. In respect of this happy Frame of Mind, the Man of polite Imagination has great Advantages. He enjoys a much larger Range of innocent Pleasures than lies within the ordinary Compass. He has Satisfaction of the most exquisite kind, with which the Vulgar, great and small, are wholly unacquainted. —He looks upon the World, as it were, in another Light, and discovers in it a multitude of Charms, that conceal themselves from the Generality of Mankind. *Spect.* Vol. VI. N^o. 411. —If we cast an eye on all the Tempests which arise within our Breasts, we shall find that they are chiefly produc'd by Idleness. Whatever shall be able to busy the Minds of Men with a constant Course of innocent Amusements, or to fill them with as vigorous and pleasant Images, as those ill Impressions by which they are deluded, it will certainly have a surer effect in the composing and purifying of their Thoughts, than all the rigid Precepts of the Stoical, or the empty Distinctions of the Peripatetic Moralists. *Sprat's Hist.* R. S. 343.

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it an enlarged and liberal Sense of Things, than the Theory of the heavenly Bodies, as it is opened to us by the modern Philosophy *. How does it beat down the little Pride of *Conquest*, the Triumphs of *Ambition*, the Glories of *Empire*, tho' we were Masters of them to a far *greater* degree than ever fell within the compass of any human Prowess, to consider, that not this or that *particular* Spot or *Country* only, but the *whole Earth* itself, the most extended Scene of sublunary Greatness that even the Wantonness of Imagination can figure to us, is no more than a *single Point* in the *Immensify* of the Universe †! And that an *Alexander*, or a *Cæsar*, after all the

* What room can there be for low and little things in a Mind so nobly imployed? What ambitious Disquiets can torment that Man, who has so much Glory before him? *Sprat's Hist.* 345.

† We are told by *Plutarch* that it had this Effect upon *Alexander*, when he heard the Philosopher reasoning concerning a Plurality of Worlds. Αλεξάνδρῳ Ἀναξαρχὸς περὶ κόσμων ἀπειρίας ἀκούων ἐδάκρυε, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐρωτῶντων ὅ, τι πέπονθεν, οὐκ ἀξίου (εἶπεν) δακρυεῖν εἰ κόσμων οὕτων ἀπειρῶν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω κυριοῖ γεγوناμεν; *De An. tranq.* p. 466.

His Conduct upon this Occasion is well exposed by the Satirist——

Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis:

Æstuat infelix angustî limite mundi,

Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvâque Seripho.——

And the Reflection he makes upon it is very moral and judicious. *Juv. Sat. X. lib. 4.* 168.

fine things that are said of them by *Poets* and *Historians*, the one with all *Greece* at his Devotion, and the other, as Mr. *Pope* somewhere excellently paints him, with a *Roman Senate at his heels*, in all the *Pageantry* of Victory, the *Exultation* of flattered Success, might yet appear to the Eye of *superior* Intelligences as really *low* and *little*, with regard to the scope of their Ambition; as if, like Children, they had been all the while laying out themselves in pursuit of a rich *Plume of Feathers*, or inamoured of the Music of a *Rattle**! Alas that being full as *idly* employed, they should not have been likewise as *innocently* so †!

BUT

* The Poet thought he had sufficiently reproached this Hero-Madness, when he upbraidingly addressed himself to one of great Character that way in this very severe Sarcastm——

——*I demens, & sævas curre per Alpeis*

Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias. Ibid. 166.

† This thought is finely touched by *Seneca* in his first Book *de Clementia*.——*Quod istud, Dii boni, malum est, occidere, sævire, delectari sono catenarum, & civium capita decidere, quocumque ventum est multum sanguinis fundere, aspectu suo terrere, ac fugare? quæ alia vita esset, si leones ursique regnarent? si serpentibus in nos, & noxiosissimo cuique animali daretur potestas? illa rationis expertia, & a nobis immanitatis crimine damnata, abstinent suis; & tuta est etiam inter feras similitudo: horum ne a necessariis quidem rabies temperat sibi, sed externa, suæque in æquo habet, quo possit, exercitior a singulorum cæ-*

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mentum

BUT not to insist, *Philemon*, upon the many *excellent Moralities* to which Thoughts of this nature evidently lead us, (tho' this, it must be owned, is no inconsiderable support of our main Principle, by representing to us some of the noblest *Satisfactions* of Life, as connected with the highest *moral Improvements* of it *) let us consider

mentum Principis fastigio dignius pulchriusque est, quam illa corona ob cives servatos. Non hostilia arma detracta victis; non currus barbarorum sanguine cruenti; non parta bello spolia. Hæc divina potentia est, gregatim ac publice servare: multos autem occidere, & indiscretos, incendii, ac ruinæ potentia est. *Sen. de Clementia Lib. I. ap. finem*—A very good modern Author has adopted this humane Sentiment, and given it a very beautiful Turn thus—

*The Grecian Chief, Enthusiast of his Pride,
With Rage and Terror stalking by his side,
Raves round the Globe; he soars into a God!
Stand fast Olympus, and sustain his Nod.
'The Pest divine in horrid Grandeur reigns,
And thrives on Mankind's Miseries and Pains.
And cannot thrice ten hundred Years unpraise
The boist'rous Boy, and blast his guilty Bays?
Why want we then Encomiums on the Storm,
Or Famine, or Volcano? they perform
Their mighty Deeds; they Hero like can slay,
And spread their ample Desarts in a Day.*

Univ. Passion, Sat. VII. p. 163, 4.

* The Antients plainly had this Notion of natural Contemplations, and consider them as having a moral Use and Tendency. So *Tully* tells us, that the Order and Regularity of external Nature is intended as a Model for the Imitation of Mankind in their private and particular System. Ipse autem Homo ortus est ad

sider the Constitution of Things in its more obvious Appearance, merely as a *natural Foundation of Pleasure* to us. A Man must have lost his very *Senses*, and become a piece of *uninform'd Mechanism*, before he can behold the *cheerful Face* of *Nature* with Coldness and Indifferency. No sooner does he open his Eyes, but numberless *gay Scenes* immediately display themselves to his view ; the various Forms, the Arrangements, the Colourings of surrounding Objects instantly strike his Attention ; and all Nature appears to him, as was said of the *Author* of it, in *perfect Beauty* *. Whilst his Hearing continues unimpaired, he will be often very *agreeably* entertained with grateful Sounds in the *natural Music* of Birds, the Fannings of Woods, the Purling of Streams, or the Falls of Water. In spite of the most *sullen Sanctity*, which would deprive him

ad mundum *contemplandum & imitandum*. De Nat. Deorum. Lib. II. p. 142, 3. *ed. Dav.*—Parallel to that Passage in his Treatise *de Senectute* — Credo Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui cælestium *ordinem* contemplantes, *imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantia*—*ed. Græv.* p. 448. 21. To the same purpose *M. Antoninus* advises, Περισκοπεῖν ἀστρον δρόμους, ὥσπερ συμπεριθεόντα, καὶ τὰς τῶν σοιχείων εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταβολὰς συνεχῶς εὐνοεῖν, ἀποκαθαίρεισι γὰρ αἱ τῶν φαντασιῶν τοῦ βυπτῶν χαμαὶ βίαι. Lib. 8. 47. Ibid. Lib. 11. 27.

* Psalm. 50. 1.

of the innocent Comforts of his Being, he will be sometimes *unavoidably* refreshed with cooling Breezes, or cheared with delicious Odours. The Benefits of Light, and Sunshine, healthful Air, and kindly Seasons, must *force* many very *sensible Satisfaction*s upon him, whether he will or not; and by a *merciful Violence* often constrain him to be *happy* *. Even the appointed means of preserving *Life* itself must let in upon him many *comfortable* Sensations; nor can he satisfy the necessary *Demands* of his animal Nature, without a considerable *Indulgence* and *Gratification* of it †. So largely has an all-bountiful Creator

* Non dat Deus beneficia. Unde ergo ista quæ possides? quæ das? quæ negas? quæ servas? quæ rapis? unde hæc innumerabilia, oculos, aureis, animum mulcentia?—Si domus tibi donetur, in quâ marmoris aliquid resplendeat, & tectum nitidius auro aut coloribus sparsum, non mediocre munus vocabis: ingens tibi domicilium, sine ullo incendii aut ruinæ metu, struxit, in quo vides non tenues crustas, sed integras lapidis pretiosissimi moles, sed totas variæ distinctæque materiæ, cujus tu parvula frustra miraris; tectum vero aliter nocte, aliter interdiu fulgens. *Sen. de Ben. Lib. 4. cap. 5. 6.*—It is very manifest, that the Author of Nature is so far from forbidding us Entertainments, that he has put it out of our power not to enjoy them in great plenty and variety, by making almost every thing about us so gay and delightful. *Campbel's APETH-ΛΟΓΙΑ*, p. 110. and elsewhere.—*Spect* Vol. 5. N^o. 387. 393.

† Unde illa luxuriam quoque instruens copia? neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est;

ator provided for the Happiness and Good of every *sensitive* Being, that no Efforts of *morose* and *peevish* Virtue can entirely overrule the *Benevolent* Constitution of Nature, but even the most *ingenious* Artificers of their *own* Misery shall be often *unavoidably* disappointed *.

est : usque in delicias amamur, tot arbuta, non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ salutare, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digestæ, ut inertī quoque fortuita terræ alimenta præberent. Jam animalia omnis generis——ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum aliquod nobis conferret——unde ista palatum tuum saporibus exquisitis ultra satietatem laceffentia ? unde hæc irritamenta jam lassæ voluptatis ? *Sen.* ubi supra.——Nevertheless the sensual Pleasures of Taste are the least part of that Happiness to which our Appetites of Hunger and Thirst are intended to lead us. They are the Foundation of many social Exercises, and moral Entertainments. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀγγείου ἡκεῖ κομιζων ἑαυτον ἐμπλησαι προς το δειπνον ὁ νῦν ἐχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπεῖδασαι τι καὶ παιζαι, καὶ ἀκῆσαι, καὶ εἰπειν, ὁ ὁ κχιρος παρακαλεῖ τῆς συνοῖτας, εἰ μελλῶσι μετ' ἀλληλων ἡδεως ἐσεσθαι. *Plut. con. sept. Sap.* 147.——Ο κῦν ἐργον ἐστὶ τὸ Διόνυσον μεθῆ καὶ οἶνον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐμποιοῖσι διὰ τῶν φιλοφροσύνην, καὶ πόθον, καὶ ὁμιλίαν ἡμῖν, καὶ συνηθείαν προς ἀλλήλους. *ibid.* 156. As a Proof of this, could any Man be pleased with a Company of *Statues* surrounding his Table so artfully contrived as to consume his various Courses, and inspired by some Servant, like so many Puppets, to give the usual trifling Returns in praise of their Fare ? *Inquiry into Orig. &c.* p. 236.

* This Profusion of the finest Delights spread all over the Heavens and the Earth can never be counted vicious or criminal, since the Author of Nature has made it plainly inevitable. APETH-ΛΟΓΙΑ, p. 110.

ONE

ONE would think, (interposed I) *Hortensius*, that *Happiness* was not so very *un-inviting* a *Form*, that Men should need to be thus over-ruled, as it were, to imbrace it. Yet such is the perverse Blindness of *Superstition*, that it even takes a Merit to itself in rejecting, as far as may be, the *offered Good*, and throwing *back* the Favours of indulgent Heaven upon its hands as not *worth* acceptance. A strange way of recommending itself to the *Deity*, by fighting as it were continually against him * ! Whilst, as you rightly have observed, if there be any Meaning in natural Language, the whole *Voice* of things universally reclaims to the *preposterous* Devotion.

WE may imagine (replied he) that the kind Author of the Universe, foreseeing what *uncouth* Pains some gloomy Spirits would take to bring Misery upon themselves under a fond Persuasion of doing him service by it, has, in pity to their deluded Apprehensions, constituted almost

* Superstitio error insanus est : amandos timet, quos colit, violat. *Sen. Epist.* 123. ap. finem. For what else is it but to affront and injure the Deity, for the Superstitious to imagine, as *Plutarch* speaks, Φοβερὸν τὸ εὐμενές, καὶ τυραννικὸν τὸ πατρικόν; καὶ ἐλαττερον, τὸ κηδεμονικόν, καὶ τὸ ἀμικτὸν ἀγρίον καὶ θηριώδες; *De Super.* 167.

every thing about us a necessary Source of *Pleasure* to the human Breast, on purpose in some degree to *counterbalance* the Effects of such unnatural Perverseness: insomuch that a Man must throw up his very *Being* itself, who would intirely exclude every *joyous* sensation. And thus does the *Ascetic-Principle* at last defeat its own ends; since it can no otherwise fill up the *Measure* of our Mortification, than by depriving us of the very *Capacity* of it. The same extravagant Self-denial that gives the *final Stroke* to our Happiness, by a fortunate Inconsistence with itself, *determining* our Virtue likewise.

BUT we are by no means got to the bottom of this Argument. Hitherto we have dwelt only on the Surface or Outside of things. If we descend a little into the *Philosophy* of those several delightful Perceptions which Nature so liberally administers to us, we shall discover a more *exquisite* Apparatus in the *Oeconomy* of our sensible Pleasures than is generally, I believe, apprehended. There is no one of our Senses that affords us so large a Variety of pleasing Ideas as our *Sight*. 'Tis to this we are indebted for all that abundant Profusion of *natural Beauty* that adorns the whole visible Creation. Now what are the several *Colourings* of outward Objects,
those

those magnificent *Shews* and *Apparitions* that on all hands present themselves to our View ; those *Lights* and *Shades* of Nature's Pencil, that so agreeably *diversify* the general Face of the Universe? what, I say, are they, *Philemon*, but a set of *arbitrary Modifications* of the *perceiving* Mind, to which the several Objects *themselves* have not the least *Resemblance**? For what Agreement is there in the nature of the thing between a certain particular Bulk, Figure, or Motion of the insensible parts of external Matter, the only *real* Qualities of the several visible Bodies that so variously entertain our Sight, and our Ideas of *Light* and *Colours*? and yet what a joyless and uncomfortable Figure would these things make to us, if we saw them in their *naked* and *philosophic* Realities! What a large field of Pleasure and Admiration would be lost to us, were all the *masterly Touches* of natural Painting, the *variegated Scenery* of Heaven and Earth, at once to disappear, and an *undistinguished Blot* to overspread the *universal* System! To what purpose then such a *prodigal* Expence of Art and Ornament in the Furniture of this *stupendous Theatre* of Nature, but to *charm* the *ravished* Sense of the intended *Spectator* by

* See *Locke's* Essay con. Hum. Und. chap. 8.

the prospect of these *imaginary* Glories * ? We may pursue this Speculation yet farther—The Perceptions of our Taste and Smell, the Ideas of Sounds, from which are derived all the *enchanting* Powers of Harmony, an *Entertainment* which some have thought worthy of *Heaven* itself, the Sensations of Heat and Cold, and divers other Affections of our Touch, are quite *other* things in our Minds from what they are in the several *exciting* Objects. Providence, as if the *real* Qualities of Bodies were too *scanty* a Foundation of Pleasure to the human Sense, has superadded to to them many *imaginary* Properties and Powers of affecting us, in order to *inlarge* the Sphere of our Blessings, and in a more eminent Degree to *indear* to us the Relish of our present Being †.

To take the matter, *Philemon*, in a different light,—it is observable that some of the greatest *Beauties* of Nature are at the same time the greatest *Benefits* of it. Fruits which are most *agreeable* to the Eye, are often the *pleasanteſt* to the Taste likewise. There is nothing that affords a greater

* *Spec.* Vol. 6. N^o. 413. Our Souls are at present delightfully lost and bewilder'd in a pleasing Delusion, and we walk about like the Hero of a Romance.—Also N^o. 387. Vol. 5.

† *Lock. Spec.* as before.

supply of Comforts to human Life than the Improvements of Agriculture ; and at the same time there is not a *finer* piece of Landscape than the View of a *fertile Country* richly *diversify'd* with the several Products of *natural Grain* ; whose agreeable *Wavings* add Novelty to their other Charms, and entertain us no less with the Variety of the Scene, than with the inimitable Beauty of it. The several kinds of Plantation are at once *useful* and *entertaining* to the Owners of them. They not only throw *a Man's whole Estate into a Garden*, as the Spectator speaks, but by a happy Union of the *agreeable* and *beneficial* improve his *Possessions*, as well as his *Prospect*. Who sees not, as the same Author, I remember, goes on, that *a Mountain shaded with Oaks*, or *a Marsh overgrown with Willows*, are both more *advantageous* and more *beautiful*, than either of them in their uncultivated State * ?

AND yet (I could not avoid interrupting) *Hortensius*, so careful has the great Disposer of things been that *no part* of his Works should pass *unrecommended* to us, that even the seeming *Wildnesses* and *Imperfections* of Nature, as Marshes, Defarts, Rocks, Precipices, are not without their

* *Spec.* Vol. 6. N^o. 414.

Charms; they entertain us with their *Novelty*, and *Magnificence* at least, if not with their *Beauty* *. And moreover they may be considered as *Foils* to the more *graceful* parts; or as *Discords* happily interspersed in the *Composition* of things; to render the *general Harmony* of Nature more exquisite and enchanting.

IT may be added, (returned he) that not only *Irregularities* and *seeming Imperfections*, but even *Horrors* themselves, when Reason or Experience has removed the first Impressions of our *Fear*, are no small Foundation of *Pleasure* to us: as *Fire*, *Ruins*, *Hurricanes*, a *stormy Sky*, a *troubled Ocean*, a *wild Beast in chains*, or a *dead Monster* †: either from the natural *Magnificence*, or *Novelty* of the Objects that excite them, as in the last Article; or from the *agreeable* Contemplation of our own *personal Safety*; whilst they are considered by us as at once *dreadful* and *harmless* ||.

* *Spect.* Vol. 6. 412. 5. 387.

† *Hutch.* Inquiry, p. 72.

|| *Spect.* Vol. 6. N^o. 418. *Lucretius* was well acquainted with this Source of Pleasure, as may be seen in his second Book:

*Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ alterius magnum spectare laborem:
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,
Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.*

Lib. II. 1.

WHAT an amiable Scene of things, (said I) do these Reflections open to our View! those parts of Nature which are more immediately adapted to our *Entertainment* or our *Use*, are as *common*, as they are *beneficial*. The seeming *Deviations* from either, (besides that it is probable they have a *real*, tho' more *remote* Connection with both) are not only *few*, and *extraordinary*, but moreover this very Circumstance of their being *so*, by gratifying our Taste of Novelty, gives them a sort of relative *Agreableness*.

IF the seeming Imperfections of *external* Nature (resumed *Hortensius*) are thus beautifully instrumental to our greater Pleasure, much more may this be said of those of our own *private* and *personal* System, the Imperfections of our *Senses* and Powers of Perception. It has been often, and very justly, observed by Writers in behalf of a Providence, that a more *improved* State of our bodily Organs would in the present Situation of things not only deprive us of several Advantages we are now possessed of, but convert some of our greatest *Pleasures* into the most exquisite *Torments*. Whilst, as it is admirably represented by the incomparable Author of the Essay on Man, were our feeling increased to a more *delicate* Sense, we should only become

tremblingly

*tremblingly alive all o'er,
To smart and agonize at ev'ry Pore.
Or quick Effluvia darting thro' the Brain,
Die of a Rose in aromatic Pain*.*

What a delightful and entertaining Scene, *Philemon*, is even now displaying itself to our Observation, in this spacious Canopy of Heaven enriched with an Infinity of *shining Orbs* that shed their benign Influences upon our heads, and make Night auspicious! and yet we are indebted for all this beautiful Representation of things to the *Imperfection* of our Sight in discerning Distances. How else could we delude ourselves with imagining the several Bodies that compose it, Bodies of such infinitely varied Magnitudes, and Distances from each other, to be as so many *lucid Points* in the *Circumference* of a great concave Sphere †? But however we are deceived

* *Pope's Essay on Man*, I. 189. How, says an eminent Writer, could we sustain the Pressure of our very Clothes in such a Condition; much less carry Burthens and provide for Conveniences of Life? we could not bear the Assault of an Insect, or a Feather, or a Puff of Air without Pain. There are Examples now of wounded Persons, that have roared for Anguish and Torment at the Discharge of Ordnance, tho' at a very great distance: what insupportable Torture then should we be under upon a like Concussion in the Air, when all the whole Body would have the Tenderneſs of a Wound? *Bentley's Boyle's Lect.* Sermon 3. p. 99.

† *Hutch. Inquir.* p. 20.

by

by this Appearance, 'tis a Deception greatly in our favour; and whoever should enlarge the Sphere of our *Vision*, would lessen that of our *Entertainment* *.

To

* This Observation may be carried much farther; 'tis to the Imperfection of our Sight that a great deal of that Beauty we discern in outward Objects is owing. If our Eye was so acute as to rival the finest Microscopes, it would make every thing appear rugged and deformed: the most finely polished Crystal would be uneven and rough; the Sight of our own selves would affright us. *Bent.* p. 97.—So likewise was our Hearing increased proportionably, every Breath of Wind would incommode us: we should have no Sleep in the silentest Nights and most solitary Places: we must inevitably be struck deaf or dead with the Noise of a Clap of Thunder. *Bent.* p. 98.—Nay the Author of the excellent Essay goes yet farther, and says of Man,

*If Nature thunder'd in his opening Ears,
And stunn'd him with the Music of the Spheres,
How would he wish that Heav'n had left him still
The whisp'ring Zephyr, and the purling Rill?*

I. 194.

There is a very material Use of the present Constitution of our Senses yet behind. Had we a microscopic Eye, we could not see at one view above the Space of an Inch, and it would take a considerable time to survey the mountainous Bulk of our own Bodies. *Bent.* p. 97. We should be literally, what a ludicrous Author makes his fabulous Voyager to have appeared to the Inhabitants of a certain Island, to ourselves and one another, so many *Men-Mountains*. We might inspect a *Mite* with great Curiosity, but could neither comprehend the *Heavens*, nor any other Objects of our present Sight. Or if our Hearing were more exquisite, what Confusion and Inconvenience would it introduce into civil Life? Whispers might then be as justly criminal, as they have been made so
by

To pass on to another Topic.—We have already, *Philemon*, considered the Love of Novelty as it is calculated to give pleasure to certain Objects, that have otherwise *little* or *none* in themselves *; let us inquire next how it seems to affect such as confessedly have the *greatest*. 'Tis a well-known Truth, that *the Eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the Ear with hearing* †. Possession soon cloyes and fatigues the Sense, and Change is a necessary Requisite to lasting Satisfaction. Nay so intoxicated are we often with this fickle Passion, as to give up a *greater* good in purchase of a *less*, meerly because it is an *untried* one. In the mean while, however we may pervert the Passion to our detriment in particular Instances, the general Use and Design of it is remarkably beneficial to us. Providence, having made *every thing* in some way or other the means of *Good* to Man, forbids him to dwell long upon the *same Objects*, in order that he may more *fully* experiment this *comfortable Truth*, and by *different Applications* taste the *varied Good* that is so liberally provided for him.

by some merciless Tyrants.—What Affairs that most require it, could be transacted with Secrecy? *Bent. Pope*, as before.

* *Spec.* Vol. 6. N^o. 412.

† *Eccles.* ch. i. v. 8.

You

You was hinting, (said I) *Hortensius*, some time ago at the singular Kindness of our Creator in annexing a sensible Delight, Refreshment, and Complacency, to the Use of those *ordinary* Means of Subsistence, by which *particular* and *individual* Life is appointed to be sustained. The Observation is yet more eminently true of those more *mysterious* ones by which is provided for the Continuance and Propagation of the *Species* of Mankind. Nature has given a very high Relish of Pleasure to the *Concurrence* of the Sexes, in order, no doubt, to counterbalance the unavoidable Inconveniences of Marriage; to sweeten the Pangs of Child-birth, to recommend the Fatigues of domestic Concerns, of the Care of Offspring, of the Education and Settlement of a Family; and moreover to be the Foundation, and the Cement of those numberless tender Sympathies, mutual Indearments, and Reciprocations of Love between the married Parties *themselves*, which make up not the *Morality* only, but even the *chief Happiness* of Conjugal Life *; and at the Envy of which, in so remarkable an Exemplification of it, as the Condition of the first Parents of Mankind is represented to have been by the tender and passionate *Milton*, 'tis no wonder their great Enemy

* *Hutch.* Inquir. 256, 257.

should turn aside from beholding their mutual Careffes, as unable to indure the Pain of his malicious Resentment at such *superior Delicacy* of Injoyment.

— *Aside the Devil turn'd*
For Envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them askance —.*

An Image of such exquisite *Force* and *Beauty* this, that the fondest Lovers of Antiquity may be challeng'd to produce its Parallel in the most approved Writers of any Age or Country!

AND yet, *Philemon*, (replied he) as careful as our Creator has been to keep off any unjust *Stain* from an Institution so wisely adapted to all the Purposes of human Condition, and which draws us no less forcibly by the Charm of the highest *moral*, than *sensible* Pleasures, he has not been able to screen it from the Reproaches and Calumnies of superstitious and enthusiastic Zealots in all Ages, who have done their utmost to depreciate Marriage as a *low* and *carnal* State, unworthy the pious Heroism of those *refined* Spirits, who scorning to act their part well as *mere Men*, aspire to the Life of *Angels*; and renouncing the *dull* and *sottish* Pleasures of Sense, affect a more *acceptable* Obedience to Heaven

† *Milton's Par. Lost. B. IV, l. 502.*

in imaginary Exercises of greater *Purity* and *Perfection* *.

OUR

* This Notion seems to have been pretty general amongst the earliest Christian Writers: at least this is the most favorable Construction one can put upon many of their very harsh Expressions upon this Subject. Thus *Justin Martyr* calls Marriage του δι επιθυμίας ανομου γαμου. *Spicileg. Tom. 2. p. 180.* And again tells us, και ο Κυριος δε ημων Ιησους Χριστος & δι αλλο τι εκ παρθενος ετεχθη, αλλ' οια καταργηση γεννησιν επιθυμίας ανομου, και δειξη οτι και διχα συγκασις ανθρωπινης δυνατον ειναι τω Θεω την ανθρωπε πλασιν. *Ibid. p. 180, 181. & alibi.*——*Irenæus* speaking of the Law of Divorce amongst the Jews as a matter indulged them, *because of the Hardness of their Hearts*, not simply right in itself, considers Marriage under the new Testament in the same light.——*Et quid dicimus de Veteri Testamento hæc? quandoquidem & in novo Apostoli hoc idem facientes inveniantur propter prædictam causam, statim dicente Paulo; hæc autem ego dico, non Dominus. Et iterum. hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum præceptum? Lib. 4. cap. 15. (vulg. 29.)* to the same purpose *Athenagoras.* Το εν παρθενια και εν ευνοχια μειναι πολλου παρισησι τω Θεω. *Legat. Cap. 29. ed. Oxon.* *Methodius* in his Banquet of Virgins finds this Sentiment in the very Word which in *Greek* signifies Virginity (παρθενια) by a very slight Alteration; as does *Jerom* afterwards in the *Latin* Word *cœlebs*.——*Cœlibes* (says he) unde & ipsum nomen inditum est, quod cœlo digni sint, qui coitu careant. *Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. p. 228. ed. Par.* both probably with equal Authority, that of their own extravagant Fancy only.——Of the same Opinion was *Tertullian.* Nihil tale Paulus indulsit, (says he) qui totam carnis necessitatem de probis etiam titulis obliterare conatur. indulget nuptias, parcit sane matrimoniis. hoc ei supererat, carnem

OUR Poet, (said I) than whom no one seems to have had a tenderer sense of the more improved Felicities of *wedded Love*, has painted, I remember, these fantastic Refiners in their proper Colours in the following Lines of the same incomparable Poem——

——*Hypocrites austere*ly talk
Of Purity, and Place, and Innocence,
Defaming as impure, what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase—who bids abstain,
But our Destroyer——Foe to God, and Man?
Hail wedded Love——
Founded in Reason, loyal, just, and pure,
Far be it, that I should write thee Sin, or
blame!
Or think thee unbefitting holiest Place,
Perpetual Fountain of domestic Sweets!*

VERY different (returned he) was the Opinion of some grave *Fathers* of the *Church*, who were for banishing the *Rites*

carnem vel a fordibus purgare, a maculis enim non potest. De Pud. 568, 569. ed. Lond in 1689. The Distinction, it must be owned, is somewhat nice, but the comfort is, 'tis *Tertullian's* Distinction, and not *St. Paul's*. The false Reasonings, as well as gross Misapplications of Scripture, to be met with in the generality of the *Fathers* upon this Article, are endless.

* *Milton's Par. Lost. B. IV. 744.*

mysterious of connubial Love *, as our Author calls them, from the State of primitive Innocence † ; and suppose, that if Man had preserved the *original* Perfection of his Nature, Providence would have found out some *purser* way of propagating the Species than by the gross *Sense of Touch* ||; a Happiness vouchsafed to the *Brute Cre-*

* Par. L. B. IV. 742.

† So St. *Basil*. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκ παρέργῃ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖ εἶου τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐπισκεψαίῳ, εὐροῖς αὐτὸν ἐν μὲν παραδείσῳ μὴ χρεῖαν ἐσχηκότα γυναικαὶ ἑαυτὴ τὴν γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν παραβάσιν, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τὴν ἐκπύωσιν τῆ παραδείσου, τότε τὴν γυναῖκα γινώσκοντα. *De vera Virginitate*. p. 771. ed. Par. Of the same Opinion was St. *John Chrysostom*. Μαλλον δὲ ἡ παρθένια μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆ γαμῆ προτέρα ἡμῖν ἐφάνη, διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεισηλθεν ὑπερον ὁ γαμῆ, καὶ πραγμα ἀναγκαιον νομιζέτο εἶναι, ὥς εἶγε ἐμείνεν ὑπακῶν ὁ Ἀδάμ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδέχθη τῆς. καὶ πῶς αὐ, φησιν, αἱ τοσαῦται μυριάδες ἐγενοντο;—εἴτε ὅπως, εἴτε ἑτέρως, καὶ ἐχω λέγειν. το γὰρ ζήτημενον οὐκ, ὅτι γαμῆ καὶ ἐδεῖ τῷ Θεῷ πρὸς το πολλὰς ποιῆσαι τῆς ἐπιγῆς ἀνδρωπῆς. *De Virg*. p. 331. ed. Par. vid. & p. 328. So St. *Jerom* writing to *Eustochium*. Eva in Paradiso virgo fuit: post pelliceas tunicas initium sumpsit nuptiarum. p. 35. And in his first Book against *Jovinian*. Ac de Adam quidem & Eva illud dicendum, quod ante offensam in Paradiso virgines fuerint; post peccatum autem, & extra Paradisum, protinus nuptiæ. Lib. I. p. 160. If this Father ever commends Marriage 'tis upon this very indirect view of it. Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant. (*Epist. ad Eust. ub. sup.*) lego de spinis rosam, de terra aurum, de conchâ margaritam.

|| *Milton*, B. VIII. 579.

ation, in common with ourselves, as a Mark of its pretended *Unworthiness*; whereas the *Angels*, a nobler Class of Beings, and to whom it is said we are one day to be *equal*, are represented to us *neither to marry, nor be given in Marriage* *; as an instance of their superior Perfection and Dignity.

ADMITTING it to be so, (interposed I) I see no Merit in our aspiring to be *as the Angels* before our time; 'tis rather a *Desertion* of our proper Post and Duties, and a kind of *breaking in* upon the natural Order of things †.

THAT (returned *Hortensius*) is the obvious Tendency of all such fanciful Re-

* *Mat.* 9. 30. *Luk.* 20. 36.

† This shews the Weakness of *St. Basil's* Reasoning upon this Point. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὅτε γαμήσι ὅτε γαμιζονται, ἀλλ' εἰσιν ὡς ἀγγελοι, καὶ οἱ τὴν παρθενίαν ἀσκήντες ἀγγελοι εἰσιν, ἐν εὐφθαρτοῖς σαρκὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶον περιπολκντες. καὶ ἀγγελοι οὐκ ἀσημοι τινες, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφοδρὰ ἐπιφανεσάτοι. ὅτι ἐκείνων ἀνευ σαρκῶν κατὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, τοπῶ καὶ ἀεὶ αἰῶνι φύσει παρὰ τῶ παμβασιλεὶ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ φυλαττόντων, ὅτοι ἐπὶ γῆς σαρκὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐνοχλῶμενοι, καὶ τῇ πειρᾷ τῆ Διαβολῆς ἐκκείμενοι, τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἰσαγγελοῦ δι' ἀρετῆς τῶ ποιητῆ παραδοξότερον διεφυλάξαν. *De vera Virg.* p. 767. And yet this is a very common Topic amongst the Fathers in commendation of Virginitv, that, quod alii postea in cœlis futuri sunt, hoc virgines in terrâ esse cœperunt. *S. Hier. adv. Jov. Lib.* I. 178.

finements.

finements. They remove us out of our *appointed* Province, and put us into a *different Class* of Being from that which God and Nature have designed us for. And where can be the Excellence of thus *intruding* ourselves into a Character that does not *belong* to us? In reality, *Philemon*, I see not how it can be said to be a *Perfection* in *Angels* to live *above* those Injoyments of *Sense* for which they have neither *Capacity*, nor *Inclination*: at the most, it is rather a Privilege or Consequence of their *incorporeal* Nature, than any *meritorious* Act of their Will*. Certainly however it cannot

* For that the Angels μη γαρ μοι μη δε εξαγαμιζονται, St. *Chrysostom* gives a very sufficient Reason, (as different as his Application of it may be) when he adds that εκ εισι συμπεπλεγμενοι σαρκι και αιματι, οδε επι της γης εχουσι τας διατριβας, οδε οχλον επιθυμιων αυεχονται. *De Virg.* p. 322. Tho' indeed to reconcile this with the Sentiments of another more antient Father I cannot so well undertake, who explains a Passage in the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, and another in St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, of Angels entertaining a Passion for Women. Si mulier, says *Tertullian*, potestatem habere super caput debet, (1 *Cor.* 11. v. 10.) vel eo justius virgo, ad quam pertinet quod in causâ est. si enim propter angelos, scilicet quos legimus a Deo & cœlo excidisse ob concupiscentiam foeminarum; quis præsumere potest tales angelos, maculata jam corpora, & humanæ libidinis reliquias desiderasse, ut non ad *virgines* potius exarserint, quarum *flos* etiam humanam libidinem excusat? nam & scriptura sic suggerit, &c. *Tertull. de Virgin. veland.* 177. The Father, we see, has a very refined Notion of angelical
In-

cannot be *such* in Man to forego any of those natural Pleasures which his Creator has marked out for him in the very *Condition* of his Being, as *proper Means* of his present Happiness; and accordingly has made his Duty to consist not in the *Renunciation* of his Senses, but in the *regular Use* and *good Government* of them. 'Tis the Excellence of any Being not to soar *above* its natural Sphere, but to act well and wisely *within* it. *Human Perfection* is the Perfection of a *Man*, and not that of an *Angel*. Had Men sufficiently attended to this plain and obvious Distinction, what a Multitude of illiberal Superstitions, and uncouth Practices in Religion, had never been heard of? but the quite contrary Notion has generally prevailed where Religion has been any part of Men's Concern; and accordingly the World has been pretty much divided between such as have had *too much* Religion, and such as have had *none at all**; the latter of these Characters being indeed a natural Consequence of

Intriguing. Seriously, I know not whether it be more absurd, thus to bring down the Angels to the level of human Passions, or to affect to exalt the human Nature into the State and Condition of Angels: both, I am sure, are without the least Foundation either in Reason or Scripture. But Fathers are not always the best Friends to either of these.

* It was the just Complaint of *Pliny* in his time, aliis nullus est decorum respectus, aliis pudendus. *Nat. Hist.* Lib. III. cap. 7.

the

the former *: for whatever an over-forward Zeal may suggest to People of more *Piety* than *Understanding*, all Attempts to raise any *part* of Duty too high are in effect setting the *whole* much too *low*; whilst by endeavouring to fetter Men with too *great Restraints*, we only provoke them to throw off *all*; and fly to absolute *Irreligion*, as the only Security against the Incroachments of *Bigotry*.

THE Exchange (said I) is very rash and unwarrantable. Nevertheless, such are the Absurdities of some religious Systems, that one cannot wonder that a strong Disgust to these should sometimes transport Men of *freer Spirits* too far, whilst by a hasty Association of Religion itself with their own nursery Prejudices concerning it, they are led to discard both at the same time †. Upon
any

* Ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία τῇ ἀθεότητι καὶ γενεσθαι παρεσχευ ἀρχὴν, καὶ γενομένη δίδωσιν ἀπολογίαν, καὶ ἀληθῆ μὲν, καὶ καλὴν, προσφάσεως δὲ τινος καὶ ἀμοιροῦ ἔσται. *Plut. de Sup.* p. 171.

† Whilst some Opinions and Rites (says an excellent Writer of our own) are carried to such an immoderate Height, as exposes the Absurdity of them to the view of every body but them who raise them, not only Gentlemen of the Belles Lettres, but even Men of common Sense, many times see thro' them; and then out of Indignation, and an excessive renitence, not separating that which is true from that which is false, they come to deny both, and fall back
into

any other Hypothesis it seems difficult to account for some men's irreconcilable Enmity to Religion, whose natural Dispositions are such as might incourage one to hope much better things from them. But the mistaking *Reverse of wrong for right* is a very common Deceit; and Men have need of great Caution and Sobriety of thinking to keep clear of it.

*For what to shun will no great Knowledge
need,
But what to follow, is a Task indeed*.*

'TIS this (returned *Hortensius*) that is the very Delusion of those Refiners we were speaking of. Because they are not left at liberty to pursue all the *Extravagancies* of their natural Appetites, therefore they will not allow of any innocent *Gratifications* of them: as if there was no middle way between *Voluptuousness* and *Insensibility*; and a Man must either renounce his animal Nature, or be a *Slave* to it. What is this, *Philemon*, but to *mistake reverse of wrong for right* in the most glaring instance? and for fear of degenerating into *Brutes*, to disdain to act in Character as *Men*? For certainly if there had been any

into the contrary Extreme, a Contempt of all Religion in general. *Rel. of Nat. del.* p. 60, 61.

* Mr. Pope's Epist. to my Lord Bathurst, 201.

H.

Crime

Crime in *Sensuality* as *such*, our Creator would never have placed us in such Circumstances, as to fall under *inevitable* Guilt this way, by the necessary Condition of our very Being, every moment of our Lives: a Consideration which some rigid Assertors of Mortification would do well to attend to, before they impose their own Visions upon the World under Pretences of superior Sanctity.

I suppose (said I) they are only some *particular kinds* of Sensuality, which are usually taxed as immoral; for otherwise the necessary Condition of our very Being itself were a State of *perpetual* Immorality. An Imputation that would reflect no small Dishonour upon the Author of it!

THEY are so, (replied he) but 'tis the Effect of a very short and scanty way of thinking. For since these *particular* Species of Sensuality are condemned as *immoral*, without any regard to *civil*, or *social*, or *personal* Inconveniences that may arise from them, it must be only as they have the Nature of *sensual Indulgences*. And then what hinders but every other Indulgence of this sort should be equally condemned with these? And thus we are reduced to this unavoidable Dilemma—Either there is no Evil in Sensuality as *such*,
or

or there is—If the former be true, then we must give some *other* Account of the Immorality of the forbidden kinds, than what arises from their Sensuality; and so indeed we shall have a fair way open to proceed in; but withal such an one as must intirely destroy the Foundation of these pretended Refinements in Morality. —If the latter, then will it become us to take care, lest by endeavouring to throw off an *imaginary Blemish* from *ourselves*, we cast a *real* one upon the Purity and Perfection of our *Maker*.

WHAT think you (said I) of the Passion of *Shame*, that is an Attendant upon *some kinds* of sensual Indulgences? Does not this seem to argue an *intrinsic* Turpitude in the Acts themselves? a sort of conscious sense of some *moral Incongruity* in the very Nature of the particular Pleasures? And yet *Grotius*, I remember, speaks of the *Pudor circa Res Veneris*, as one of the most general Principles in our Nature*. And indeed the Character of Sensuality seems to have been in a peculiar degree appropriated to Pleasures of *this* kind; and they are usually branded by moral Writers with such particular Epithets of *Infamy*, as if they were of a more

* *De ver. Rel. Christ.* Lib. I. Sect. 7.

gross and debasing nature than any of the other Pleasures of Sense.

WITHOUT entering (said *Hortensius*) into the *Original* of this Passion of Shame, or determining whether it be *natural*, or *acquired*, a Question, as I apprehend, not without its Difficulties; the *Use* of it, I think, in Society is very evident. It lays a commodious Restraint upon a violent Passion, the *public* Gratification of which would be attended with many civil Inconveniences; whilst, instead of *participating of the Mysteries of Love*, as the incomparable Mr. *Wollaston* speaks, *with Modesty, as within a Veil or sacred Inclosure* *, we should be in the Situation of those described by the Poet,

Quos Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum

Viribus editior cædebat †.

A Circumstance happily prevented by the means of this useful Passion.

You are not then of the Opinion of that learned Casuist, (returned I) who accounts for the Shame attending these Pleasures of the *sixth Sense*, as he is pleas'd to call them,

* *Rel. of Nat.* p. 180.

† *Hor. Sat. Lib. I. Sat. 3.* 109.

from their *disangelical Nature*. Not that they have any *intrinsic Turpitude* in them; but being below the *Dignity* of the Soul of Man designed for an *angelic Life*, “ Nature, says he, has taught her to *sneak*, “ when *she being Heaven-born demits herself* “ to such earthly *Drudgery* *.

IF I was to give any further Account of this matter than I have already done, (replied *Hortensius*) I should think the Hypothesis of the very ingenious Mr. *Hutcherson* the most natural: who supposes that an Opinion of the *Selfishness* of these Indulgences, arising from their *confined Nature*, is the Ground of our being ashamed of them; and that this *first introduced Ideas of Modesty into polite Nations* †: but however they first came there, certain it is, they deserve the Incouragement of every Society; nor can the Public be too cautious in keeping up a tender sense of them in the Minds of Men, as a Guard to their Virtue; and in discountenancing whatever Discourses, Books, Representations, &c. are found to have a contrary Effect. But this, as I before observed, upon a merely civil or social Account; the only *just* Ground, as I apprehend, of the *Unlawful-*

* Letters Phil. & Mor. between Mr. *Norris* and Dr. *More*, p. 153, 168.

† *Hutch. Inq.* 325. Sect. 5.

ness even of the *forbidden* Species of Sensuality. It being better upon the whole, that particular Men should be under *some* Restraint in the Gratification of their natural Appetites, than that much *greater* Mischiefs should happen to Society, in Consequence of a general *Licentiousness*. For as to the *disangelical Nature* of these particular Pleasures, besides that it must hold equally of the most *allowed* Instances of them, as of the *prohibited* ones, it is with me, I must own, of very little weight against *any* of them; and that for this plain Reason, because *Men* are not *Angels*; and therefore no supposed Perfections of *their* State of Being can be proper Matter of Example to *us*, who are placed in quite different Circumstances *. The Case is the

* It seems a very odd way of depreciating the Pleasures of the sixth Sense, as they are called, to say they are *disangelical*: for is not this as true of those of the other five Senses? Whatever the learned Doctor may think of the *Food of Angels*, which he somewhere speaks of as literally *such*, or the *fragrant Odours of Paradise*, (p. 169.) we have the Authority of a reverend Father of the Church to produce against him in this Point. Speaking of the Angels, εδε σιτε δεονται (says he) και ποτε, εδε μελ^ε αυτες ηδ^υ μαλαξαι δυναιτ' αυ, εδε οψις επικαμψαι λαμπρα, εδε αλλο των τοικτων εδεν. αλλα καθαπερ του κρανου εν μεσημβρια σταθερα μηδεν^ε ενοχλουν^ε νεφες εστιν ιδειν καθαρον, ετω και τας εκεινων φυσεις, εδεμιας ενοχλησης επιθυμιας, μενεεν αιολικη διαυγεις και λαμπρας. *S. Chrysost. de Virg.*

the same in the *moral* World, as it is excellently represented by the Poet to be in the *natural*;

On superior Powers

*Were we to press, inferior Might on ours;
Or in the full Creation leave a void,
Where, one Step broken, the great Scale's de-*
stroy'd.

*From Nature's Chain whatever Link you
strike,
Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the Chain
alike*.*

As to those reproachful Epithets with which, as you observe, moral Writers affect to stigmatize sensual Pleasures, as if the fault lay in the *things themselves*, and not rather in the *Degree*, or other *Circumstances* of them: I answer with the ingenious Mr. Norris in his Theory and Re-

p. 322. The great Pagan Poet had likewise juster Notions of Immateriality.

Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἐδῶσ' ἔ πινυσ' αἰθροπα οἶνον,

Τρυφεὶ ἀναιμόνες εἰσι, καὶ ἀθανάτοι καλεοῦνται.

Hom. Il. IV. 341, was his Account of his Heathen Divinities.—So that were we to endeavour after a Life *strictly angelical*, (and if we are required to do so in *one* Instance, why not in *another*?) we must become in very truth like the *Idols* of the *Heathen* (Letters as before) *have Eyes and see not, Ears and hear not, Noses and smell not, Palates and taste not, Hands and handle not*——A Scheme of Perfection I am not enough spiritualiz'd to envy any Man.

* *Essay on Man*, I. 233.

gulation

gulation of Love, that “ *herein is their*
 “ *Mistake*. And if Men will talk con-
 “ fusedly of things, and assign *false* Causes
 “ for *true* ones, who can help it * ?

I am glad (interposed I) you have the Authority of so approved a Divine to bear you out in this Notion ; otherwise was you to communicate your Thoughts to many People I could name, you must expect to be charged with the most abandoned *Epicurism*.

I hope (returned he) I have a better Authority for my Opinion than that of any great Name whatsoever, the Authority of Truth and good Sense. For to go a little farther into this Subject——Whoever will be at the pains of examining into the Nature and Reasons of moral Obligation, may, I think, soon satisfy himself, that the *proper Duty* of any moral Agent is nothing else but its *proper Happiness*. The Terms are convertible, and imply each the other. If with this view we consider Man, as he is in himself, a Creature of a *mixed* Constitution, made up of a *sensible*, a *social*, and a *rational* Principle, 'tis obvious that the *proper Happiness* or Good of such a Being, or which is the same thing, the greatest *Perfection* of his

* *Theory*, &c. p. 98.

Nature, must arise out of some certain Scheme of Action at once suited to all the parts of this *compound* Character. Here, *Philemon*, commences the general Reason of all human Morality and Religion. It is not, as we are too often taught to think it, a set of *arbitrary* Injunctions imposed upon us at the mere voluntary Appointment of a capricious Superior : but a Rule of Conduct founded in our very *selves*, and resulting out of the Make and Constitution of our Nature. Away then with all those visionary and fantastic Refinements which would teach us to build our *Virtue* upon the Ruins of our *Humanity*, and eradicate *one* of the *essential Parts* of our Nature to accomplish the *other*. 'Tis in some just Balance of our *whole* Constitution, not in the Destruction of any *Branch* of it, that our main *Perfection*, because our main *Happiness*, consists. The Gratification of our Senses and Passions, merely *as such*, is no more a Crime, than the Exercise of our Reason, or the Offices of social Affection* : for each of these were alike given us by the great Author of our Faculties, as so

* Even the Desire of public Good may be too strong in some heroic Tempers, whilst the Agent never thinks he can do enough to promote it, but without reflecting upon his past Conduct, like the ambitious, goes on

Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum.

Lucan.

I

many

many *distinct* Principles of Action, so many *several* means of Happiness ; and, *Philemon*,

*What composes Man, can Man destroy * ?*

It then only becomes *wrong*, when either from an *undue Measure*, or *improper Circumstances*, it breaks the Harmony of our internal Frame ; and by too great an Indulgence of *one* of these Principles offers violence to *either* of the *other*. We are not, as the incomparable Mr. *Wollaston* speaks, to “ give up the *Man* to humor “ the *Brute*, nor to hurt *others* to please “ *ourselves* † ;” but where we can keep clear of such *accidental* Inconveniences, there the Pleasures of Sense are as allowable, as they are made necessarily grateful to us. They are, like the Trees of Paradise, not only *fair* to the Eye, but *good* for Food. For indeed, as Mr. *Norris*, I remember, very justly states the Point ; “ Where “ there is no Malice in it either against “ God, Himself, or his Neighbour, I cannot imagine how it should be at all a “ moral Incongruity for a Man to *please* “ *himself* ||.

BUT

* *Essay on Man*, II. 164.

† *Rel. of Nat. del.* p. 180.

|| *Letters Phil. and Mor.* p. 149. Excellent are the Sentiments of the Author before-cited upon this Head.

BUT does not Scripture itself (said I) seem to authorise a different way of Reasoning

Head. *Temperance*, says he, permits us to take Meat and Drink not only as Physic for Hunger and Thirst, but also as an *innocent Cordial* and Fortifier against the Evils of Life, or even sometimes, Reason not refusing that Liberty, *merely* as matter of Pleasure. *Chastity* does not pretend to *extinguish* our tender Passions, or cancel one part of our Nature, it only bids us not indulge them against Reason and Truth. *Frugality* indeed looks forward, and round about ; but still it forbids no Instance of *Generosity*, or even *Magnificence*, which is agreeable to the Man's Station and Circumstances. *Rel. of Nat. del.* p. 179, 180. as before. Within these just, and necessary Regulations, founded in our very Nature and Constitution, we may admit the Pleasures of the Senses to be really desirable, without that false Consequence in *Tully* of wishing in voluptate maximâ, nullo intervallo interjecto, dies, noctesque versari ; cum omnes sensus dulcedine omni quasi perfusi moverentur : for, as the Passage goes on, quis est dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto genere voluptatis ? *de Fin. Lib. II.* p. 188. ed. Dav. Such a Happiness as this is the Happiness of a merely *sensible* Being only, not of a *social*, or a *rational* one. How contemptible an Idea does the Pagan poetic Theology give one of the supreme *Jupiter*, when it represents him, as *Seneca* has it, voluptate concubitus delinitum duplicasse noctem ! *De Beat. Vit.* 516. It was the want of this Distinction that gave rise to the different Extravagancies of the *Stoics* and *Epicureans*, upon this Article of sensible Pleasure. “ Neither side considered Men, as Men, “ but as it were divided human Nature between them. “ The latter, forgetting themselves to be moral Agents, regarded only Sensibility ; the former, forgetting themselves to be sensible Beings, regarded “ only

soning upon this Question? does it not frequently charge Immorality upon some kinds of sensual Pleasure, as *such*, without any mention of Consequences? and accordingly speak of them in terms that carry an Imputation of *Baseness* and *Turpitude* in the very *Nature* of the *Acts themselves*, as if they were not so much Offences against the *social Interests* of Mankind, as against the *personal Dignity* of human Nature? Thus they are represented under the Character of *Lusts which war against the Soul**, of *filthy Lusts*†, of *vile Affections*‡, and the like. And Fornication is stiled the Sin of *Uncleanness*, and treated as a *Defilement* of a Man's *self*, rather than as an *Injury* done to his *Neighbour*‡.

WHERE

“ only Morality.” *Balguy's Tracts*, p. 204. A wise Man may very well be of that noble Sentiment in *Tully*, ne malum quidem ullum, nec si in unum locum conlata omnia sint, cum turpitudinis malo comparanda, (*Tusc. Dis.* ed. Dav. 132.) without carrying the Point to such an extreme as that, latetur in perierendo; or thinking there is no Difference between being in Phalaridis Tauro, and in Lectulo. *Ibid.* p. 121. *Plutarch*, with his usual Good Sense, has excellently decided this matter, Ἡδονῆς δὲ πάσης μὲν περιεχέσθαι, καὶ πάντως, αλογίστον ἐστὶ, πάσαν δὲ φεύγειν, καὶ πάντως, ἀναίσθητον. *Con. sep. Sap.* 158.

* Αἰτίνες ὁρᾶνται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς. 1 Pet. 2. 11.

† Μόλυσμα σαρκός. 2 Cor. 7. 1.

‡ Παθὴ ατιμίας. Rom. 1. 26.

‡ Παρέδωκεν αὐτὴς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν, τὴν ατιμαζέσθαι

WHERE this is the Case (replied *Hortensius*) we must always suppose the Case of *inordinate Affection** to sensual Pleasure to be taken into the Account; and so the fault will lie not in the *Kind* of Indulgence, but in the *Measure* of it. For otherwise the *same kind* of Pleasure could not be lawful under *any* Circumstances, and *Marriage* itself would be as immoral as *Fornication*, contrary to an exprefs *Precept* of one of the inspired Writers†. Unless it may rather be thought, that the sacred Writers speak of these Matters, as they are known to do of many others, with Accommodation to *popular* Usage, and common ways of Expression; being more sollicitous to guard Men against the *Breach* of their Duty, than to instruct them in the *pre-*

τιμαζοσθαι τα σωματα αυτων. Rom. 1. 24.—Πορνεια δε, και πασα ακαθαρσια. Eph. 5. 3.—Φευγετε την πορνειαν. ο πορνευων εις το ιδιου σωμα αμαρτανει. 1 Cor. 6. 18.

* See *Norris's Theory and Reg.* p. 99.

† For so, I think, that Passage in the *Hebrews* should be rendered, τιμιον ο γαμνος εν πασι, *let Marriage be honourable in all Men*; with Analogy to the preceptive Stile of the whole Chapter. Thus it begins, η φιλαδελφια μενετω της φιλοξενιας μη επιλανθανεσθε. v. 1, 2. and so it goes on throughout. See *Heb.* 13. v. 4.

cise

cise Reasons of it*. And indeed to inforce the *Practice* of Morality was a business of much

* It must be owned there is a very great Authority, that of the able and judicious Mr. *Locke* in his Comment upon the following Words of St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 6. 18. ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἰδίου σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει, against this Opinion. He supposes the Apostle to make use here of an Argument against Fornication to Christians, taken from their particular Relation to Christ, consider'd in his glorified State. His Exposition is this—"He who committeth Fornication
 " sinneth against the end for which his Body was
 " made; namely, to be a Member of Christ, and to
 " be raised to the same Power which he has now in
 " Heaven," (*Locke's Works*, Fol. 2 vol. p. 168.) for so he understands the fourteenth Verse, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ δια τῆς δυναμεύς αὐτῆς.——But if this be a good Argument to Christians against Fornication, it must be so too against Marriage: for the mere Act of *corporal Indulgence* is the same in both States, and there is only a Difference in the Circumstances of it, which is here no part of the Apostle's Consideration. He reasons upon the Nature of the Act itself; but ὁ κολλωμενⓈ τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν σῶμα ἐσιν, is as true of ὁ κολλωμενⓈ τῇ γυναικί; so that in both Cases it is αἰρεῖν τὰ μέλη τῶ Χριστοῦ κτλ equally; if this be indeed the true Ground of the Accusation. But with all due Deference to so judicious an Interpreter in most Cases, I think he has here mistaken the Apostle's Meaning. I should rather incline to understand by *Body*, the *Body of Christians*, the *mystical Body of Christ*, so often mention'd in Scripture; against which *Fornication* is in a *peculiar* sense a Crime from its near Connexion with the impure Services of Pagan *Idolatry*; into many of which it had been, as it were, incorporated. So says *Tertullian*, who introduces *Idolatry* thus reporting of herself, Ego quidem Idololatria sæpissime

much greater moment to them, than nicely to adjust the *Theory* of it. This was rather the Province of Philosophy, and improved Reasoning; and had accordingly given Employment to the several eminent Masters of it in different Ages and Countries; but the other was a Point of too great difficulty for any *human Authority* to compass; and therefore was the peculiar Assignment of those who stood invested with *divine*: who came not, as they themselves inform us, with the Arts of Eloquence, the *enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*, but *with Signs, and Wonders, and divers Miracles, Demonstrations of the Spirit, and of Power* *. But this is a matter that will fall more immediately under Consideration in the Sequel of this Argument; for the present it may suffice to

pissime mœchiæ occasionem subministro; sciunt luci mei, & mei montes, & vivæ aquæ, ipsaque in urbibus templa, quantum evertendæ pudicitiae procuremus. *De Pud.* p. 557. It was yet more eminently criminal in this view, when practised, as we are informed it too often was, by Christians, in their religious Assemblies themselves, in their Night-Meetings at the Tombs of their Martyrs; insomuch that an early Council thought fit to injoin, “ that Women should “ not frequent these Cœmeteries by Night; eo quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis latenter scelera committantur. 35 *Can. Conc. Elib.*—But if this be not admitted, we must, I think, have recourse to popular Accommodation in this Passage.

* 1 Cor. ch. 2. v. 1. & 4. Heb. 2. 4.

have

have just hinted at it in passing, in bar to such Objections as might be supposed to arise from the Quarter of Revelation against the main Tenor of these Reflections.

To proceed to some farther Observations that more directly confirm it. We have already considered the State and Constitution of Nature, as it is an immediate Occasion of many pleasing Perceptions to the human Sense. Nevertheless the Pleasures of the *Senses* are by no means the *only* ones to which it is subservient; there are *others* of a more elegant kind, that arise out of these, and open a still wider field of Entertainment to us; the Pleasures, I mean, of the *Fancy* or *Imagination*. Under this Head I comprehend those several delightful Perceptions which arise from the Contemplation of either natural, or artificial, or even imaginary and ideal, Objects, consider'd as *beautiful, regular, harmonious*. That these are something very different from the *simple Sensations* of our Sight, or Hearing, is generally, I believe, acknowledged; insomuch that a celebrated Writer upon the Subject is for considering them as a *distinct* Class of Perceptions; and calling our Power of receiving them an *internal Sense* *. Thus much is certain, that a Man may enjoy

* *Hutch. Inq.* p. 17.

all his ordinary Senses in great Perfection without any of those transporting Pleasures that gratify a refined Imagination. In *Music* we seem to admit a Distinction of this sort in our common Language; by styling a Capacity for the Pleasures of Harmony, a *good Ear*. And yet the Organs of Hearing seem to be by no means less perfect in People of no Genius for Music, than in others of the greatest and most improved Fancy this way. And why a *good Eye* might not sound full as well of a Judgment in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, or *natural Landscape*, I can see no reason but want of Use and Custom. Doubtless these are as distinct Ideas from the simple Perceptions of *Colour*, *Figure*, and *particular Extension*, as the others are from the particular Tones of *single Notes*. A Man may be able to distinguish these with great Accuracy, may know all the Varieties of harsher, softer, higher, lower, flatter, sharper, when distinctly sounded to him, and at the same time have no Ear for *good Composition* in Music. In like manner he may know with sufficient Accuracy the particular Dimensions of any Body, its Length, Breadth, Height, Base, Surface, Angles, Circumference, and yet have no Relish of that *general Proportion* which is the Result of the *whole*, and charms the Virtuoso Spectator without any previous

K
Inquiry.

Inquiry. So again in a Piece of Painting he may discern all the several Objects, their distinct Figures, their Attitudes, their Colourings, with the different Boundaries and Degrees of Light and Shade; and yet have no Sense of its *general Beauty*. It is this that sets the *Man of Taste* in the several polite Arts so much above the *mechanic Performer*. Both of them may have the same number of separate Ideas from the several *Parts* of any Object; and yet the former shall have a quite different Perception of the *Whole*, from what the latter has any notion of. As to the Foundation of this Sense of Beauty, 'tis observed, I think, very justly by the ingenious Mr. *Hutcheson* to be “ *Uniformity amidst Variety*,” or the Contemplation of an Object as at once regular, and diversified. Whether there be any real Excellency in the particular Forms we call regular to the Eye of a supreme Intelligence is not so easy to determine; tho’ was I to declare for either side of the Question, I should rather do it for the negative. Thus much however is very certain, that the Constitution of Nature is every way as much accommodated to the Entertainment of our *internal Sense* of Beauty, as it has been shewn under a former Article to be to that of our *ordinary Senses*. The Universe, as its very Name imports in the Language of
the

the Antients, is a System of *Beauty, Regularity, and Order* *. But the Pleasures of Imagination are of a much wider extent than the real Compass of *external* Nature; for having once received the Ideas of *Beauty* and *Proportion* from the several Objects of immediate Sense, it finds within itself a Power of enlarging, compounding, and altering them at pleasure to any assignable Degree, and of figuring to itself new Combinations and Forms of beautiful Objects, to be as so many Models of Practice in the different Branches of Art, which not only administer fresh Accessions of Delight to the Imagination of the Curious, but also contribute much to the better Accommodation, or Imbellishment of human Life. And here again, *Philemon*, as if Providence could never enough manifest its kind Intentions for our Happiness, it has not only form'd an intire Universe with *reference* to our *Taste* of Beauty, and put us into a capacity of multiplying the Sources of this Pleasure to ourselves by numberless artificial Combinations, and Models of our own Invention; but moreover, by a still more complicated Benevo-

* So Pliny tells us in his second Book of Natural History, chap. 4. Equidem & consensu gentium moveor, nam quem *κοσμον* Græci, nomine ornamentî, appellaverunt, eum nos, a perfectâ absolutâque elegantîâ, mundum.

lence, has superadded to the several Objects of *original Beauty*, necessarily *agreeable* to us in their own Nature, a power of becoming yet farther *so* by after *Description*; and made the *apt Representations* of pleasing Forms a *distinct* Ground of Entertainment from the Pleasure of the Forms themselves. 'Tis to this we owe much of the Entertainment of Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Statuary, and other descriptive Arts *.

'TIS very remarkable, (said I) that this *comparative* Beauty from the *Aptness* of *Description* is no small Foundation of Pleasure to the Imagination, even where the Objects described are rather *disagreeable*, or even *terrible*, in themselves. Thus particular Deformities either of Person, or in natural Objects; the decrepit Figure of Old Age, rude Rocks, Mountains, Precipices, Tempests, may by a good Representation be turn'd into very considerable Beauties in Painting, however otherwise in their Realities. And no one, I believe, ever read *Virgil's* Description of *Æneas* his Descent to Hell without a very sensible Delight, tho' the several Scenes he was to pass thro' in his Passage thither were considered by his *Conductress* as so full of Horror, that she would not permit him to ingage in the

* See *Hutch. Inq.* Sect 4.

unparallel'd Enterprize, 'till she had given him this very seasonable piece of Caution along with him——

*Tuque invade viam, vaginâque cripe ferrum;
Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo**.

Tho' it must at the same time be owned, the Pleasure is still greater, when we attend him to the——

*Locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas* †.

Because there the Objects *themselves* are no less agreeable to the Imagination, than the Poet's singular Happiness in representing them. The *Spectator*, I remember, has the same Observation of our own divine Countryman *Milton*; “ that his Descriptions of Hell and of Paradise are both, “ perhaps, equally perfect in their kind; “ but in one the Brimstone and Sulphur “ are less refreshing to the Fancy, than “ the Beds of Flowers, and Wilderness of “ Sweets in the other ||.

How enlarged and amiable an Idea (interposed *Hortensius*) does this give us of the beneficent Contrivance of the Author

* *Æneid.* Lib. VI. 260.

† *Ibid.* 638.

|| Vol. VI. N^o. 418. The intire Essay on the Pleasures of the Imagination is well worth perusing upon this Subject.

of our Faculties? that in the System of the Universe he should have observed the same Rule which we ourselves do in regard to our own personal System: *having given, as an inspired Writer has it, more abundant Honour to that part which lacked?* insomuch that even those Objects in Nature, which *we think to be less* beautiful, upon these are bestowed an adventitious kind of *Beauty*, and its *uncomely Parts* have thus a relative *Comeliness* *.

BUT is not this after all (observed I) as much as can be said, according to your Hypothesis, of the most confessedly beautiful Objects in Nature? for you seemed unwilling, I remember, to admit of any such thing as *absolute intrinsic Beauty*; and were for resolving all into a certain arbitrary Accommodation of things to our particular manner of Conception: so that what I have sometimes heard remarked of a particular Species of Beauty, that of Face, or Person, is as true, I perceive, of every other kind of it; and our Men of *Gallantry* are better Philosophers, than they themselves are generally aware of, when in defence of some singular Passion they tell us, that “all Beauty is Fancy.” But surely, *Hortensius*, this cannot be the Truth of the Case; that there should be no settled Cri-

* 1 Cor. 12. 23, 24.

terion of *Beauty, Order, Proportion*, in the Nature of things themselves, independently of some *special* Appointment. Who can imagine, that a rude Heap of Stones confusedly thrown together should, to the Eye of any Being, appear equally beautiful with a fine piece of Building, the Proportions of the most regular *Architecture*?

THIS is a mere Prejudice of our Imagination, (returned *Hortensius*.) Can you separate all Thoughts of *Use* from the particular Models of Architecture, which you call beautiful? or is not this latter Conception a Consequence of the former, in some secret Method of Association?

By no means, (said I) as I apprehend. How often do we commend an Object as beautiful, where Use is quite out of the question? where there is not any Appearance of this kind to determine our Approbation?

NOR any *Comparison* (replied he) made with some other Object of like Beauty, that is confessedly useful?

I think not, (said I) at least I have often done so, without being aware of any such Comparison.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS so, (returned *Hortensius*.) But this is not the only Instance, in which Comparisons are formed by the Mind without any *immediate* Attention to its own Act in doing so. What think you, *Philemon*, of that Propensity we all naturally have to run to the Assistance of People in any sudden and immediate Circumstance of Danger or Distress? Could you see a Man accidentally falling into the Fire, or down a Precipice, in danger of Drowning, Suffocation, Strangling, or the like, and not *mechanically* endeavour to rescue him? And yet, perhaps, this piece of necessary Compassion may be only a more disguised Instance of Self-Love grounded upon a *sudden*, and therefore *unobserved* Substitution of *ourselves* into his Place and Circumstances. 'Tis the Quickness of the Transition in such Cases that makes us overlook it. And hence probably several other acquired Propensities in our Nature either to perform certain Actions, or to relish certain Objects, without a *formal Attention* to the precise Reasons of either, have been distinguished by the Name of *Instincts*, whereas in truth they are only *Habits*. Tho' at the same time it must be acknowledged, that they have all the Use and Force of so many several Instincts; and therefore the particular Facts that
arise

arise out of them are not affected by any difference in accounting for the *Original* of the things themselves. May not this explain in some measure your approving certain Objects as beautiful, where you can see no Use; namely, from some unobserved Comparison with *like regular Forms*, which are experienced to have a very manifest one? For indeed, *Philemon*, to talk of *abstract Order* and *Proportion* is to me very unintelligible Language. As far as Order and Proportion are *real Qualities* of Bodies, and not arbitrary *Modifications* of our Sense, they belong equally to all possible Combinations of Matter. For the most *deformed irregular Objects* have a certain Order and Relation of their Parts to one another, as well as the most beautiful and uniform ones. Let a heap of Stones be thrown together never so *confusedly* as to our Apprehension, there will yet, as an ingenious Writer expresses it*,
 “ be as real a Proportion in their Sizes
 “ and Distances, as if they had been
 “ ranged by the nicest hand;” and the Reason why they appear confused to us is not because they want Order and Proportion in *themselves*, but because they have not that *particular* Order and Disposition of Parts that is accommodated to our par-

* Author of a Pamphlet, intituled, *Divine Benevolence*, in 1731, printed for J. Noon, p. 46.

ticular manner of Conception. 'Tis not Order and Proportion as *such* that constitutes Beauty; for then all Objects that may be compared as to Situation and Quantity must be beautiful; and there could be no such thing as Deformity in the World. We are indeed apt to pronounce of certain disagreeable Objects, that they want Order and Proportion; but the Expression is just as improper, as the fore-mention'd Author observes, as when we say a Body is *shapeless*, which appears to us *ill-shaped* *. If you was to invert the Position of the best-proportioned Door-Case, and make its Perpendicular its Base, would it not appear extremely awkward and unnatural? Now what is it that is here changed, but its particular Relation to the human Stature? the same Number of Parts, and the same Order and Proportion of one of its Dimensions to the other, subsists as before; Upright and Parallel are mere Prejudices of our Sense. The only thing that is really affected by this Alteration is its *Use* or *Convenience*; and yet when it loses this it is no longer beautiful: a Circumstance that seems to make Beauty and Usefulness more nearly allied to each other, than you are willing to allow. And, to say the truth, *Philemon*, I am of opinion this way of Reasoning holds equally good of the se-

* *Div. Ben.* p. 47.

veral Forms of Beauty in *Nature*, as in the Combinations of *Art*. The wise Architect of the Universe has framed every part of it with exquisite Contrivance to promote the general Good of the whole. The Configurations of the heavenly Bodies, their Order, Magnitudes, Distances, Revolutions, are all of them accommodated to their respective Uses in the Creation. The Structure of Plants, Trees, Animal Bodies, &c. is such as their several Natures require it should be. Were we let into the whole Secret and Oeconomy of Nature, we should find none of them could be altered but for the worse. Our *Reason*, and our *Interest*, from a general View of the Case, would approve their *present Constitution*, tho' we had no *Sense of Beauty* in any particular Mechanism more than another. And yet such is the Abundance of Divine Goodness, that not satisfied, as it were, to have formed things for the *best* in a rational Estimate, it has given them a *supernumerary* Recommendation to us from a Principle of Beauty; and made the Contemplation of such Forms, Orders, and Dispositions of Bodies, as would most approve themselves to our Reason *as useful*, an immediate Source of Pleasure to our Imagination *as beautiful*. For this I take to be the real State of the Case; and it is an effectual Answer to those who

tell us, that upon supposition there is no *intrinsic Beauty* in the Nature of Things themselves, but all is matter of arbitrary Appointment, the Profusion of *Art* and *Skill* observable in the Mechanism of the Universe is a mere *Waste of Workmanship*; and a *Chaos* would have answered the Creator's Purpose as well as a *regular System**: a Notion that can never be maintained, 'till it can be proved that *all Constitutions* of Things are as indifferent in respect of their *Uses* and *Applications*, as I have been endeavoring to shew they are, in respect of the particular Consideration of their *Beauty*.

BUT will not this way of Reasoning, (said I) *Hortensius*, lead us to some very odd Conclusions? particularly, if there be no *Reality* in *Beauty*, and nothing can appear to the divine Mind otherwise than it *really* is in itself, will not this seem to cast a shade upon the universal System in the Eye of its own Maker? Shall then the lovely Face of Nature, so liberal of its Charms to the human Sense, appear notwithstanding to its Author, the only *unerring Judge* of it, without *Form* or *Comeliness*†? A shocking Reflexion this on that *Divine Geometrician*, as an ancient

* Divine Rectitude, by Mr. *Balguy*, p. 16.

† *Isaiah* 53. 2.

Author calls him, who has ever been considered by the wise and thoughtful of all Ages, as establishing the Universe in *Number, Weight, and Measure*; and who tells us of himself, by a more authentic Declaration, that upon a deliberate Review of the Works of his Hands, newly gone out of them, he found reason to pronounce of every thing he had made, *that it was very good**. And indeed I have always been used to conceive of the Beauty, Order, and Regularity of external Nature, as the Production of those perfect Models of Beauty, Proportion, and Symmetry into actual Existence, which before subsisted in the divine Ideas from all Eternity. But you, it seems, will neither allow them to subsist there, nor any where else, but in the *deluded* Apprehensions of weak Mortals.

MAY I ever be thus agreeably deceived, (resumed *Hortensius*!) and with Gratitude, instead of repining, submit to a Delusion of so great Consequence to my Happiness! For what is Happiness, *Philemon*, but Idea? and if imbracing a *Cloud* can give me *equal Satisfaction*, need I complain of its being *substituted* in the room of the *Queen of Heaven*? But to come more directly to the Point: You are concerned,

* Genesis i. 31.

it seems, that the Works of the Deity should appear to him without that *particular Relation* we call *Beauty*. But do they not likewise appear to him without the *relation* of *Deformity*? and does not that in some measure satisfy you? Should I tell any of the Vulgar, that there is no such thing as *Colour* to the divine Apprehension, would not their Prejudices rise strong against the Truth of this Assertion? and yet you and I are persuaded of this, and think it no Diminution of the *divine* Happiness, however the contrary may be an Improvement of our *own*. Do but consider Beauty, as you are used to do Colour, *Philemon*, and you will be as little concerned to defend the Reality of one, with regard to the Deity, as you are of the other *.

BUT not to urge you with less important Objections, (replied I) *Hortensius*, I have one which strikes deep at your main Principle, taken from Fact; namely, that the Constitution of Things is itself *such* as plainly speaks the Deity to have had a regard to the greater Order and Harmony of the World, as a *distinct* End from the Happiness of its Inhabitants. What else, as a very ingenious Writer upon this Subject reasons, means that Scale and Subor-

* *Div. Ben.* p. 45.

dination of Beings established in the Universe, “ ascending from inanimate and “ stupid Matter to Human-Kind, and “ reaching beyond it higher and farther “ than our Faculties are able to follow “ them * ? ” A more nearly *equal* State of their Powers and Perfections would have been more conducive to their common Happiness, but would at the same time have destroyed that Order and Regularity which prevails in the present System ; an End too *sacred* for the Deity to break in upon for any other Considerations † ! Had Happiness been the only Design of the Creator, whence that mighty *Difference* to be observed in the Capacities and Injoyments of the several Ranks of sensitive Beings ? why were they not all placed in the *highest* Degree of Perfection ? why not all *intelligent* ? why not indued with the Powers and Faculties of *Angels* ? but the eternal Laws of Order and Proportion forbid such an *unvaried* Disposition of Things ||.

THIS (returned *Hortensius*) would be an insuperable Difficulty indeed, were it but built upon any solid Foundation in point of Fact : but what if the quite

* *Div. Recl.* p. 13.

† *Div. Recl.* p. 22.

|| *Div. Recl.* p. 15, 22, 23.

contrary be true? What if the *same* Constitution and Oeconomy of things that makes them thus *beautiful* and *regular* to our Imagination, be at the same time calculated to serve the Purposes of the greatest possible *Happiness* upon the whole? How do you know but the highest Order of intelligent and happy Beings may in the present System be as *full*, as the Nature and Circumstances of *such* Beings can admit of? Would you then have no *inferior* Degrees of Happiness communicated to other Classes of Beings, because a *farther* Communication of that which is most perfect is altogether impracticable? Surely this would be to break in as much upon the Happiness of the Universe, as it can be supposed to be upon its Order and Regularity. Seriously, *Philemon*, I am so far from thinking the Scale of Beings you mention an *Objection* to the Creator's Goodness, that to me it appears to be the noblest Display and Confirmation of it; inasmuch as it seems probable the *Sum total* of Happiness is much greater in this Constitution of things, than it could have been in any other*: especially if this *very* Circumstance

* This Notion is well explained and defended by the learned and thoughtful Archbishop King, in his Treatise of the Origin of Evil; and his Reasonings upon this Subject have been still farther inforced by his very ingenious *Translator*; who in this, as, I think,
in

stance of a regular Subordination in the Universe; at the same time that in the nature of the thing itself it is productive of more general Happiness, be likewise calculated to give Pleasure in its Contemplation from a *Sense of Beauty* to *other* parts of the rational Creation, as we experience it to do *ourselves* in *particular*; a Notion which I do not think improbable: however, it must be owned, the Constitution of our Sense of Beauty may seem to have been in many respects more *peculiarly* accommodated to

in many other Instances, has greatly improved upon an excellent Original. See Chap. 3, 4, 5. Subject 5. with the Notes; from which I will take the liberty of transcribing the following Passage——“ From the
 “ foregoing Observation, that there is no manner of
 “ *Chasm* or *Void*, no *Link deficient* in this great Chain
 “ of Beings, and the reason of it, it will appear ex-
 “ tremely probable also, that every distinct Order,
 “ every Class, or Species of them, is as *full* as the
 “ Nature of it would admit, and God saw proper.
 “ There are perhaps *so many* in each Class as could
 “ exist *together* without some *Inconvenience* or *Uneasi-*
 “ *ness* to each other. This is easily conceivable in
 “ Mankind, and may be in superior Beings; tho’ for
 “ want of an exact Knowledge of their several Na-
 “ tures and Orders, we cannot apprehend the man-
 “ ner of it, or conceive how they affect one another;
 “ only this we are sure of, that neither the Species,
 “ nor the Individuals in each Species, can possibly be
 “ infinite; and that nothing but an *Impossibility* in
 “ the nature of the thing, or some greater *Inconve-*
 “ *nience*, can restrain the Exercise of the Power of
 “ God; or hinder him from producing still *more* and
 “ *more* Beings capable of Felicity.” *Law’s Translat.*
 p. 95. Note 35. at the end.

Creatures of our *particular* Make and Circumstances. Thus the Manner of knowing by *general Theorems*, and of operating by *general Principles*, or *Causes*, as 'tis well observed by Mr. *Hutcheson*, as far as we can attain it, must be most suitable to Beings of limited Understanding, and Powers of Action ; the one preventing Distraction to their Minds by a Multiplicity of particular Propositions, and the other Toil and Weariness to their active Faculties from a Variety of separate Applications *. Now 'tis obvious that our Sense of *Beauty* coincides intirely with what a rational Conviction of *Interest* would recommend to our Choice in both these Instances. Again, the Comprehension of regular and uniform Objects is much *easier* than of irregular ones ; inasmuch as here a Knowledge of one or two parts leads us into that of the whole ; whereas the Ideas of confused Heaps, and disuniform Combinations are neither ascertained to the Imagination, nor retained in the Memory, without considerable *Difficulty* †. And yet here likewise a Sense of *Beauty* comes in, and determines us in favour of Uniformity, Regularity, and Order in the Disposition

* *Hutch. Inq.* p. 98.

† *Hutch.* p. 99.

of Objects previously to all Reasons of Convenience *.

It may be observed here, that however it must be acknowledged that none of these Reasons have any Force as to the supreme Being *himself*, since all ways of knowing
are

* The Meaning here is, that from an actual Experience of the Benefits of Order, Uniformity, Regularity, in many particular Instances, we are led to place a kind of Value in regular Objects *as such*, in the way of Habit and Affociation. For that this is the very truth of the Case in *natural* Objects we may reasonably conclude from the Analogy of *artificial* ones; in which it is very evident that *Beauty* is nothing else but experienced *Usefulness*. Many of the *Ornaments* in the different Orders of Architecture were at first only very simple Contrivances for the convenient Adjustment of Beams, Rafters, Props, and other necessary Materials in building; as may be seen in *Vitruvius*, and other Writers of Architecture: by degrees *Use* came to be converted into *Beauty*; and indeed the latter seems now wholly to ingross the Passion of the *Virtuosi*, as it were for its own sake. Thus the *Corona* or *Cornish* particularly was at first only an Invention to keep off Wet from the Sides of Walls, or Bodies of Pillars; and yet we see it is now establish'd into an *Ornament*: sed *proje&ctura Coronarum* rejiciet extra perpendiculum stillas, & ea ratione servaverit integras lateritorum parietum structuras. *Vitruvii* de Architecturâ Lib. 2. Cap. 8.———So again the Proportions between the Bases of Pillars and their Heights were at first adjusted from that of the Foot to the intire Stature in the human Body. Cum voluissent columnas collocare (says *Vitruvius*) speaking of the first Institution of the *Doric* Pillar, non habentes symmetrias earum, & quærentes quibus rationibus efficere possent, uti & ad onus ferendum essent idoneæ, & in

are equally *easy* to an infinite Comprehension, and all ways of acting to infinite Power; nevertheless, he having determined for the Reasons already mentioned to constitute our Sense of Beauty *such* as in fact it is, an *Accommodation* of external Nature to it is what might reasonably be expected from

aspectu probatam haberent venustatem (a manifest Consequence *this* of the *other*) dimensi sunt virilis pedis vestigium, & cum invenissent pedem sextam partem esse altitudinis in homine, ita in columnam transtulerunt.—The Proportions of the *Ionic* and *Corinthian* Pillar were adjusted much upon the same Principle. *Vitruv. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. de Gen. Columnarum.*—And in another Place he tells us, that all Proportion in Building is relative to that of the human Figure. Non potest ædes ulla sine symmetriâ atque proportionem rationem habere compositionis, nisi uti ad hominis bene figurati membrorum habuerit exactam rationem. *Lib. 3. Cap. 1.* And indeed that the Ancients were wholly governed by the Views of the greatest Use or Convenience, when they, omnia certâ proprietate, & à veris naturæ deductis moribus, traduxerunt in operum perfectiones, (*Vitruv. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.*) appears from hence, that later Architects have in vain attempted to renne upon their Models, or to introduce any *new Orders* of Building. The *French King*, we know, was very desirous to have had the Reputation of bringing some *new Order* into use; but it was found impracticable without manifest Inconvenience.—I may here just note by the way, that what has been said of *natural* Beauty, that it is all *relative* to some *Use*, is as true of *moral*, or the Beauty of *Actions*. Some *Scheme* of Action there is which answers *all* the Purposes of *such* a Creature as Man; which accomplishes *every* Point he can be supposed to aim at. This is what is called *moral Virtue*, and it is the *Duty* of every Man, because it is his true *Interest* upon the whole, to act

from his Goodness *. Accordingly we find the Universe has been a perpetual Source of Delight and Entertainment to the Imaginations of the Curious in all Ages.

act in Conformity to this Rule of Life and Conduct, established in the necessary Relations and Habitudes of things. The Sense of *Beauty* in *Actions* is nothing else but their *apprehended Subserviency* to this great End ; which, according as it is *just* or *otherwise*, constitutes (as the Sense of external Beauty does likewise in natural Objects) a *true* or a *false Taste* of Life. This accounts for the many *otherwise unaccountable Perversions* both of the *internal* and *moral* Sense observable in Fact and Experience ; as it likewise points out the true Remedy for them, namely to consider impartially the real Nature and Consequences of Things, to enlarge the View of the Mind, to take in many more Particulars into the Account, and by that means correct the *vicious Relish*, or *Gothic Taste*. Those who cannot give up the favourite Terms of *abstract Beauty*, and *abstract Fitness*, may possibly have less Prejudice to this way of thinking, when they are pleased to observe, that what they call *beautiful*, or *fit*, and the like, that I only desire leave to call *useful*, or *convenient* ; we mean the very same things, and differ only in Expression : a Circumstance I chuse to mention, in regard to the many excellent Writers who have seemed to oppose the *interested* Scheme of Morality. I have as great a Contempt for what is *commonly* understood by *Selfishness*, as they can possibly have ; and I am less inclined to differ from them, because, I take it, it is the *Excess* of their *Generosity* alone that, to my Apprehension, misleads them ; this having been the Error, if such it is, of some of the most valuable Persons in the World of Letters ; as no one can doubt, who considers that Dr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Wollaston*, Mr. *Hutcheson*, Mr. *Balguy*, and others of great Merit have declared for this Opinion.

* See *Hutch. Inq.* p. 102.

That

That admirably *simple* kind of Mechanism, by which are brought about some of the most considerable Effects in Nature is exquisitely adapted to our Taste of Beauty in *Uniformity amidst Variety*. Such are the Principles of Gravitation, of Heat, of Elasticity; the several Operations of which, besides their numberless good Uses in the Creation, have moreover a *peculiar* relation of Accommodation to the human Mind, from their observed *Agreement* in one general Cause of their Production. The obvious Face of the World, *Philemon*, is beautiful and regular; the Forms of the heavenly Bodies, their Disposition in an imaginary concave Sphere, their Periods, and Revolutions in equal Times; the Returns of Day and Night, Seed-time and Harvest, Summer and Winter; the Arrangements of natural Objects; the gradual Rising of Hills, their extended Ranges with regularly interspersed Valleys; the beautiful Level and polished Surface of Rivers; the uniform Majesty of the Ocean; the similar Structure and Configuration of the parts of Flowers, Plants, Trees, and above all of animal Bodies, are Instances of a *governing Order* in Nature equally notorious and agreeable. But this beautiful Simplicity, Regularity, and Order in the Constitution of things is not intended merely to indulge us in the *lazy* Pleasure of Contemplation,

templation, but to suggest to us many useful Principles of Action and Imployment. The several kinds of natural Forces above-mentioned by a dextrous Application are made subservient to various good Purposes in the Accommodation of Life*. To them we are indebted for the Cohesion of the several Parts of artificial Compositions of Bodies; for the Theory and Application of the mechanic Powers; for many useful Operations in Chymistry, Physic, Surgery; the several Engines imployed in the raising, projecting, or drawing off Water and other Fluids; the Invention of Clock-work, and the different Uses of Springs; with several other Particulars too numerous to be here

* It is to be observed here, as I find it well represented by Mr. *Campbell*, that we do not in such Applications create to ourselves any new Powers or Faculties, which we had not before from the Author of our Being; nor do we furnish external Objects with other Qualities, than what they have from the first Cause of all things. And where is the Crime of my collecting and disposing particular things together, so as to gratify my Mind with greater Variety of pleasing Perceptions than can be had in common thro' the World? All these things are fitted and appointed by the Author of Nature to entertain me with such Gratifications: and, I hope, there is no Guilt in exerting my natural Powers, and making use of my own Labour, Skill, and Industry, in procuring for myself those Pleasures which I have a natural Taste to enjoy; or in applying things to those Purposes, to which, not sinful Man, but the Deity himself has so well adapted them. *APETH-ΛΟΓΙΑ*, p. 111, 112.

distinctly

distinctly insisted on *. Our Taste of Beauty in the Order and Regularity of natural Objects is the Foundation of all that Pleasure we receive from the more *elegant* Devices of Art; such as *Architecture, Music, Gardening, Painting, Statuary*; to which we may add likewise the Pleasures of *Dress, Equipage, Attendants, Furniture*. Without some or other of which Pursuits, Life would want many of those Conveniences, and most of those Amusements, for which alone it is chiefly valuable, in the Opinion of such as would be esteemed to have the truest Relish of it. Strike off the artificial Improvements of Life, and you leave little or no Advantage in a great Fortune above a very small one. The Beauties of Nature lie open to all in common: the substantial part of all sensual Gratifications is attainable by a very moderate share of Wealth and Power: nay, even Scarcity often recommends these things to us much more than Abundance. Would we *refine* upon the common Satisfaction of Life, and strike out into a

* The Appointment of general Principles in Nature is farther useful in a *higher, a moral* Account. For were there no general Laws established, “ there
“ could be no Prudence or Design in Men, no ra-
“ tional Expectation of Effects from Causes, no
“ Schemes of Action projected, nor any regular Exe-
“ cution.” *Hutch. Inq.* p. 103.

more *varied* Scene of Injoyments than lie within the reach of the Vulgar, we must call in the Improvements of *Fancy*, as what alone can compass this Point for us. Accordingly, if we look abroad into the World, and reflect a little what it is that so attracts our Eyes and our Envy in the higher Stations of Life, shall we not find it to be only the superior Capacity they give to People of more distinguish'd Rank for injoying the several Pleasures of *Decency*, *Regularity*, *Beauty*? Why else is the Pride and Magnificence of a *Palace* preferred to the Humility of a plain and cleanly *Cottage*? a Piece of *Painting* to an ordinary *Sign-Post*? a Suit of *Embroidery* to a Covering of *Frize*? a Service of *Plate* to a Set of *earthen Dishes*? a numerous *Attendance* to a *Table*, or a *Dumb-Waiter*? a *Concert of Music* to a Company of *rustic Scrapers*? an *Opera* to a *Village-Wake*? If you say that Considerations of *Property* determine our Choice here, I answer, *Property alone* cannot do it; for then a *Miser* would be thought equally happy with a Man of the most *accomplished Taste*. it must be *Property applied* to something we esteem *Happiness*. Even the *Miser himself*, tho' at present by a strange Infatuation in the Passion of Avarice his Thoughts look no farther than Possession, commenced such probably at first from a

N

Prospect

Prospect of Happiness. 'Twas the Apprehension of *Want*, that is, of not having the *Means* of *injoying* Life in his power, that engaged him in this *saving* Regimen: unless we may suppose that even *yet* he has an eye to the *making a Family*, as 'tis call'd; that is, laying a Foundation for *others* to taste those *very* Pleasures of *Order, Regularity, Beauty*, from which the Wretch himself is eternally precluded from a cherished Horror of Expence*.

WHETHER this be any part of his Intention or not I cannot tell, (interposed I) but it certainly often succeeds so in Fact. Profusion in the subsequent Generation is generally a sort of Retribution to the Public for the Mischiefs of Avarice in the precedent one. I remember Mr. *Pope* in his Epistle to my Lord *Bathurst* has given this Thought a very beautiful Dress in the following Lines——

*Riches, like Insects, when conceal'd they lie,
Wait but for Wings, and, in their Season,
fly:
Who sees pale Mammon pine amidst his
Store,
Sees but a backward Steward for the Poor;*

* See this Subject well treated in *Hutch. Inq. Sect. 8. p. 93, &c.*

*This Year a Reservoir, to keep, and spare;
The next, a Fountain spouting thro' his Heir**.

But after all, (continued I) *Hortensius*, if Self-Denial be so necessary a Token of Virtue as 'tis sometimes represented, who knows but the *Miser*, as detestable a part as he is generally esteemed to act, may yet have a sort of Claim to the Character of the most *consummate* Virtue? a strange Paradox this! But yet it is certain he practises as high a Degree of Abstinence from all the Comforts of Life, as the most mortified *Ascetic* can pretend to. He sacrifices his *all*, *Hortensius*, and can the other boast of doing more? nay, in one respect, he is even the *greater Rigorist* of the two; for he sacrifices at least *one* Pleasure more than the *Ascetic* himself does; the Pleasure, I mean, of *Liberality*.

As far as *Intention* is concerned (said *Hortensius*) I am of opinion he may do so. Nevertheless, *Philemon*, the *Consequences* both of the *Miser*, and the *Ascetic-Passion*, are nearly the same; both these sorts of People may be said *to leave their Wealth to others*†, and give up their own Right in their Possessions, that somebody else may be the better for them. How different are

* Epist. of the Use of Riches, l. 170.

† Psalm. 49. 10.

the Causes that may thus bring about the same Effects? No one is apt to suspect a *Miser* of Liberality, or an *Ascetic* of Covetousness; and yet they both act the very same part in Life, tho' upon quite contrary Principles; they both *deny themselves* in the very same Instances. To suffer Want thro' the Fear of Want, which is the Case of the former, is, it may be, the more *flagrant* Absurdity; but to imbrace it voluntarily, and for its own sake, as does the latter, is surely no *inconsiderable* one; especially in a Constitution of things, as has been shewn, no ways favourable to such an austere Sentiment of religious Perfection.

BUT would you carry this Notion so far, (said I) *Hortensius*, as absolutely to condemn the forward Zeal of those mortified Pietists, who taking the evangelical Precept of *selling all we have, and giving to the Poor* *, in a strictly literal Sense, imbrace the Severities of voluntary Poverty, as if it was as formally impossible, as it is somewhere by a strong proverbial Expression in Scripture declared to be extremely difficult, in certain Circumstances, for *a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* †?

* *Mat.* 19. 21. compare with *Mark* 10. 21.

† See as before.

INDEED,

INDEED, (said he) *Philemon*, I would. There cannot be a greater Injury to the Honour of the sacred Writings than to suppose them capable of an Interpretation, in any particular Passage, so repugnant to *Common Sense*, no less than to the *general Tenor* of those very Writings themselves.

BUT may not this, and other like Places of Scripture (I interrupted) be understood as certain *Counsels* of *eminent Perfection* to *some* People, no ways obligatory as matter of *strict Duty* upon *all*? I think I have somewhere met with this Distinction in religious Writers.

POSSIBLY you may, (replied he) but 'tis a Distinction without the least Foundation of Reason to support it. Whatever the Scriptures propose as a Counsel of real *Perfection*, must, to all who believe them, be matter of *strict Duty*; for all Christians are bound to become as *perfect* as they can. Admitting then that *voluntary Poverty* is any part of Christian *Perfection*, there will be a real Obligation upon all Christians to submit to it *. And thus
must

* The learned *Barbeyrac* observes well upon this point, Chrétiens, comme tels, ne pourront qu'aspirer à une telle perfection. Ils le devront meme, contre ce que

must the whole Christian World be reduced to a *level*, all obliged to a State of *Beggary*; and the several Distinctions of Civil Society, with the relative Duties arising out of them, must intirely vanish wherever the Gospel is once introduced. A strange Representation of things, *Philemon*, and most unworthy the supposed Author of Revelation! And yet unless this be allowed, I see not how it can be any Merit in People to whom Providence has allotted the Distinctions of Birth and Fortune to quit their *proper Post* and *Duties*, and *beggar themselves*, in order to administer to, what upon their own way of Reasoning they must needs think, the *superfluous Indulgences* of other People. I remember to have read of a very rigid Pietist, the celebrated *Mademoiselle Bourignon*, who upon this very Principle, tho' she made little use of her Wealth in her own Person, would never be prevailed upon to distribute it in Charity to any body else. She could find no *fit Objects* upon whom to bestow her Liberality; none who would not make an ill use of it in administering to their *Idleness*, or their *Vices*; “ nullo adhuc inveni

que l'on suppose. car toutes les exhortations des Ecrivains sacrez tendent à imposer l'obligation indispensable de se perfectionner, & de se rendre chacun de plus en plus agréable à Dieu. *Traité de la Morale des Peres*, chap. 8. sect. 15.

“ vere

“ vere pauperes,” was her constant Reply to all Requests of this nature *. Tho’ the Principle she went upon, as indeed most of her other Principles, was extremely *wrong*, yet she certainly reasoned *right* in consequence of it. For what it becomes me to renounce *myself*, I can have no Authority to transfer to *other People*. And yet certainly, *Philemon*, this is not the Meaning of the Apostle, where he exhorts, *that to do good, and to communicate, we should forget not* † : nor in another of his Epistles, where he charges *them that are rich in this World, that they do good; that they be rich in good Works; ready to distribute* ||.—— So different is the Morality of the Gospel from the Refinements of fanciful Enthusiasts.

BUT to go a little farther into this Point. Admitting that the only lawful Use of Riches is, as our Apostle speaks, *to do good, to be rich in good Works*, I suppose it can be no Diminution of any Act of Be-

* Vellem ut occasionem haberem bona mea ad gloriam Dei impendendi ; tunc ne uno quidem die retinerem ; sed nullam hucusque inveni : multi sunt qui ea acciperent, sed non impenderent ad gloriam Dei, ut ego facere destino. *ap. Seckend. Apolog. Relatio.* p. 78, 79. See Bayle’s Dict. Vol. I. under the Article *Bourignon*, Remark M.

† Heb. 13. 16.

|| 1 Tim. 6. 17, 18.

neficence, that it is contrived so as to be at once a Benefit to the *Author*, no less than to the *Object* of it. If at the same time that I am supplying the Wants of *others*, I can so order the Matter as to answer many good Purposes to *myself* in the way of private and personal Accommodation, is the Charity of such a Proceedure at all lessened by its thus turning to a *double Account*? Surely, *Philemon*, there can be no Pretence to think so. Now 'tis in this View that I would look upon Men of Rank and Fortune in Life, as Instruments in the hands of a kind and good Providence to administer to the Necessities and Occasions of those who move in a lower Sphere, from the united Principles of *Generosity* and private *Interest*. Their personal Recreations and Amusements, the Expences of their Station and Circumstances in the World, their very Luxuries, and most elegant Superfluities, (if you will needs call every thing by that Name, that is not immediately necessary to our very Being) tho' they are far from what a celebrated Author calls them, *private Vices*, as *such*, do answer however to the other part of his Description of them, and both are, and ought to be employed as, *public Benefits**.

They

* *Fable of the Bees, or private Vices public Benefits.*
This false Notion of confounding Superfluities and Vices,

They are the proper Incouragements of *honest Industry*; a kind of Tax upon the Liberality of those who are exempted by their superior Situation in Society from the Drudgeries of its more servile Offices. They find Work and Maintenance for the labouring Poor, so necessary in all Communities; are the Support of many useful Trades and Employments in the middle Stations of Life; the Foundation of a more extended Commerce both at home, and with foreign Nations; of that general Circulation of Property, by which, in the wise Appointment of things, the Abundance of a *few* is made subservient to the Exigencies of the *many*. Where this View takes place, such a *generous Oeconomy* of our Pleasures *sanctifies*, as it were, the very *Nature* of them: it adds a *Merit* to Expence, converts *Ornament* into *Use*, and *Elegance* into *Charity*. For my part, *Philemon*, I know not a more enviable Character than that of a truly great Man who, by a Generosity of thinking answerable to his superior Capacity of doing good, employs his Fortune to all the Purposes of a *magnificent Liberality*; like a good Angel, a kind of guardian Deity, to his Fellow-Creatures, diffusing Happiness far and wide

ces, is what runs thro' that whole Piece; otherwise, (as all that Author's Pieces are) very ingeniously written.

O

thro'

thro' a numerous Circle of grateful Dependents ; whilst, at the same time, by a wonderful Provision in Nature to reward so serviceable a Benevolence, the very *Objects* of his *Bounty*, are the *Instruments* of his most *valuable Gratifications*. There is nothing, *Philemon*, I have observed to be more generally mistaken in a religious Account than the Notion of Charity : many People seem to consider *Alms* as what alone deserves that Name. As if it was not a greater, a more godlike Benevolence, to put the same Persons *above* the hard Necessity of asking our Alms, than it is to relieve them upon their actual Application for them *. To be touched with the *immediate* Symptoms of Wretchedness is no very high Degree of Excellency : he is a Scandal to his Kind who is not so. But to concert *calmly* and *sedately* the most *effectual*

* The humane Moralist Seneca was of a very different opinion—Optimum est, says he, antecedere desiderium cujusque : proximum sequi. illud melius, occupare antequam rogemur : quia cum homini probo ad rogandum os concurrat, & suffundatur rubor, qui hoc tormentum remittit, multiplicat munus suum. Non tulit gratis, qui cum rogasset, accepit. *De Ben. lib. 2. cap. 1.* And again, *cap. 2.* Molestum verbum est, onerosum, & demisso vultu dicendum, rogo. Hujus facienda est gratia amico, & cuicunque, quem amicum sis promerendo facturus. sero beneficium dedit, qui roganti dedit.—It may perhaps be, that that very circumstance is the *chief Recommendation* of this kind of Charity, which with many People is made an *Objection*

effectual Measures of doing good, as it were, before it is even sought for, to cherish the fair Idea in our Minds, and by friendly *Precautions* of Benevolence to hinder, as far as may be, the very *Entrance* of Misery into the World, this is indeed a truly heroic Instance of Virtue. And yet this is the very part which every Man of Distinction and Affluence is called upon to act, if he does but rationally consult his own greatest Entertainment and Happiness. Such is the *Morality* even of *Pleasure*, *Philemon*, in a true Estimate of things! so wonderfully are *Virtue* and *Self-Gratification* complicated together! I might add here, what has been already observed more at large, that the very Pursuit of Pleasure itself in the Instances now suggested, in the several Objects of *Decency*, *Beauty*, and *Order*, is not

jection to it, “ that it does not appear to be such.” It puts People upon acquiring *for themselves* a comfortable or convenient Subsistence, which, because it is the Result of their own Labour and Industry, they consider as a *Reward not of Grace, but of Debt*. (Rom. 4. 4.) A very considerable Enhancement this of the Value of it! To be the Authors of our own Happiness, being a much greater Pleasure to us, than to receive the same Proportion of Good at the arbitrary Will of another.—We may add, that this is therefore the *truest kind* of Goodness, because it is indeed the Method of the *Deity himself* to all his Creatures. He gives them the *Capacities* of Happiness and of Virtue, and leaves the *actual Acquisition* of both in a great measure to *themselves*, that they may set the greater Value upon them.

only convertible in the Method already proposed into an *actual Exercise* of Virtue, but moreover has a natural Tendency to carry us on to still *higher Degrees* of it: it being scarce possible but that to a considerate Man the same Principle of *good Taste* which regulates his *Amusements* must irresistibly make its way into the Oeconomy of his *Mind* and *Temper*; and lay the Foundations of solid *Worth* in his *inward* and *moral* Character *.

I am afraid, (interposed I) *Hortensius*, this is too *liberal* a Method of Instruction, thus to recommend Virtue as the Perfection of good Taste, and send us to the School of our most refined Pleasures to learn it in, ever to pass with our rigid Instructors in Morality for a *right* one: Imposition, Command, and arbitrary Appointment are the Lessons they choose to teach us; and indeed they are the only ones that can be at all fitted to introduce the Rigors of their extravagant Systems. Submission and Restraint is with them all in all; and there is always the more of *Grace* in any Practice, the less there is of *Nature*. To cultivate a Taste of moral Worth and Excellence from a Principle of

* See this Notion treated with the usual Elegance of that noble Author, in the *Characteristics*, Vol. III. Miscel. 3. Chap. 1, 2.

Decency, Proportion, and Beauty in Actions, is a Piece of rank *philosophic Pride*, rather than of *religious Humility*. Our Conduct is then most valuable in *itself*, when there is the least Ground to think it so in *our* Apprehension of it. This *Pride* of Virtue is the *Ruin* of it; they can allow nothing to be such, that flows from so corrupt a Principle.

YET the Principle of *Reverence to a Man's self* * (returned *Hortensius*) was thought fit to be inculcated by one of the wisest Moralists of Antiquity; and it will ever be a very just Foundation of moral Merit, in spite of all the visionary Conceits of spiritual Mortification. *Pride, Philemon*, is one of those Qualities in our Nature that is either *good* or *bad*, according as it is applied. To be *proud* of, or *approve* in ourselves, what is really excellent, is only to form a *true Estimate* of things: and can there be any Merit, as Mr. *Norris*, I remember, somewhere observes, in *being mistaken* †? 'Tis then only wrong, when it is placed upon wrong Objects; when

* Παντων δε μαλιστα αιτχυνειω εαυτου,

Was one of the capital Precepts of *Pythagoras's* Morals, and perhaps (says Mr. *Norris*) one of the best too that ever was given to the World. *Nor. Miscel.* 8vo. 351.

† *Nor.* as above, p. 346.

we conceit ourselves of imaginary Worth, and neglect what is real and genuine. If it be said that every Degree of Pride is criminal in the present imperfect State of human Nature, what is this but to say that it is impossible for Man to arrive at *any Degree* of moral Worth? an Opinion which, as *fallen* as he is represented to be, cannot be maintained without a manifest *Dishonour* to his Maker. But to state this Matter yet more clearly—If *Compulsion* be of the Essence of Virtue, as it is insinuated in the Objection you mention, the Conduct of the supreme Being himself has much less *Merit* in it than that of the most *disingenuous* of his Creatures; otherwise, what is a Perfection in the Deity, cannot but be such in Man too, as far as he is able to imitate it. Now to practise Virtue, the *highest* Degrees of Virtue, without *Constraint*; to pursue it upon a Principle of *free Choice*, for the *mere Pleasure* and Approbation of the thing itself, as his *Glory*, and his *Happiness*, is what constitutes our Idea of the *divine Perfection*: and shall the same thing which gives such a superlative *Grace* and *Lustre* to the *divine Character*, cast a *Shade* upon the *human*? So that after all, *Philemon*, Constraint and Self-Denial is so far from being *necessary* to Virtue, that 'tis mere *Weakness* and *Want* of Virtue that gives *them* either Use or Expediency.

pediency. They are a *Derogation* from the true Merit of Virtue, as *far* as they are shewn to take place in it: and the *highest* State of moral Excellence is that where there is nothing of *Dissatisfaction*, nothing of *Difficulty*; where Virtue is, as it ever ought to be, a Service of *perfect Freedom*, *generous Affection*, and *unallayed Complacency*. But this perhaps may be thought refining—Enough however has been argued from other less abstracted Topics to establish this general Conclusion upon the whole, “ that however the
 “ Pursuits of *Pleasure* and *Virtue* are
 “ often represented as *inconsistent*, the na-
 “ tural Constitution of things, a most
 “ certain Testimony of the *Intention* of
 “ their *Author*, is such as never can be re-
 “ conciled with this gloomy Principle.” Providence, which does nothing in vain, would not have so exquisitely adapted the Works of his hands to the Entertainment and Service of Man, if Misery of any kind had been his determined Portion and Assignment in the present Life. The Discipline of Virtue is then an *easy* and a *liberal* Discipline. They are Strangers to the *lovely Form*, who represent her to our view with a forbidding Aspect, with nothing but Clouds and Frowns upon her Brow. The Practice of our Duty is in the strictest Sense to *follow Nature*: and
 the

the way to recommend ourselves to a kind and good Deity is not to *barass* and *afflict* that Being he has in his gracious Bounty bestowed upon us; but, upon a rational and judicious Estimate of things, to consult in the most effectual manner at once the greatest *Ease*, *Happiness*, and *Improvement* of it. How different, *Philemon*, has been the *general Turn* of Religion in the World!

You promised, (said I) *Hortensius*, to give me some Account of this Matter: but we have dwelt so long upon some previous Points, that we are got, I perceive, almost to the End of our Walk; and the Evening is too far advanced upon us to think of staying abroad any longer.——I hope, however, you will be as good as your word at some other Opportunity.

WHENEVER you please to call upon me, (returned he) I shall be ready to answer my Engagement. We have established a good general Foundation to proceed upon in this Question; and may reserve the farther Discussion of it to our future Leisure or Inclination.

AND thus, my *Hydaspes*, I have brought you to a very commodious Resting-Place in this Argument: and shall accordingly
take

take my leave of you for the present;
with a Promise of continuing my Re-
port of our farther Conference, if you
shall think it worth your while to require
it of me.

F I N I S.



Lately Published;

PHILEMON to HYDASPES ; relating a
Conversation with *Hortensius* on the
Subject of FALSE RELIGION.
P A R T I.

PHILEMON

Wm

TO

Welby.

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Third CONVERSATION with
HORTENSIVS, upon the Subject of
False Religion.

IN WHICH

Some GENERAL ACCOUNT is indeavoured to
be given of the Rise and Constitution of *False
Theory* in Religion in the *earlier* Pagan
World.

Ασωματως και αφανως εν πασιν οντα Θεον, και δια
παντων διηκοντα, και τουτου ειχοτως Δια των Δεδη-
λωμενων σεβειν φασι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3.
cap. 13.



L O N D O N:

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane*,
M.DCC.XXXIX.

ERRATA.

PAGE 5. line 6. *first Origin*, for *Origin*. P. 11. l. 10. *ganeral*, for *general*. P. 14. l. 16. *ordinary*, for *ordinarily*. P. 25. l. 2. *hints*, for *hint*. P. 30. l. 1. *againct* for *against*. P. 32. l. 8. at *Empire*, ; for . P. 33. in the Note, l. 1. *τελευσαντον*, for *τελευσαντων*. P. 34. in the Note, l. 2. *condita*, for *conditu*. P. 38. in the Note, l. 3. *ουρανος*, for *Ουρανος*. P. 49. in the Ref. to *Shuckford's Con. Book 4. at large*, for *Book 5. p. 319, and foll.* P. 52. in the Note, l. 3. A. M. 2267, for 2276. P. 62. in the Note, l. 8. *sixth King*, for *sixth Pastor King*.

P. 63. in the Note, l. 16. after *Matter*, the Reader is desired to go on thus—Determines the supposed requisite Addition to the original *Egyptian Year* to be just a seventy second Part of it. That is, five Days only, without a quarter of a Day over——

P. 63. in the Note, l. 24. to *ἐξομνησον*, add *συντερον*. l. 25. *τειακοσις*, for *τειακοσαις*. P. 64. in the Note, l. 22. *τετεν*, for *τετων*. P. 85. l. 2. *distinſion*, for *distinction*.



H. Gravelot inv. et delin.

B. Cole sculp.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES.

&c.

IHAVE been doubting, *Hydaspes*, with my self, considering the very favourable Reception you have given my two late Addresses to you in this moral kind, whether it was really safe for me to proceed any farther with them. The moral Relish, as it seemed, was gaining too fast upon you. A certain Habit of more than ordinary Seriousness towards which I could not but observe you inclining, however it might improve you as a Philosopher, would go near to spoil you as a Man

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of

of the World; as threatening to disturb that easy *Insignificance* of Manner, and Relaxation of Thought and Temper, which is the admired Excellency and Distinction of that Character. But here, methought, the Scruple began to remove, when upon Recollection it appeared, that the whole Foundation of it was laid in a gross Fallacy and Mistake. "That *Solemnity* is a necessary Branch of "true *Seriousness*." For if indeed the two Ideas were perfectly different, there could be no occasion for your renouncing any part of the agreeable Sprightliness of your Polite Character, in order to save the Dignity of your Philosophic one. They might yet, for any thing I could discern to the contrary, maintain with perfect Consistence their distinct Provinces, and each have its *Privilege of Turn*. In many Cases it might even be necessary they should unite in one common Cause and Interest; and, with equal Propriety, and Advantage to each other, demand a joint Interposition and Authority in the very same Article of Life. The Caution of the Philosopher might sometimes be of singular Use to restrain the Indecencies of a too licentious Freedom; and the Sprightliness of a well conducted Freedom, to temper the Rigors of a too scrupulous Philosophy. Particularly, if, in the course of severer Thought, Religion should sometimes fall under consideration, there seemed here an indispensable

ble Necessity for playing certain *sprightlier* Fancies, and Ideas of a more *cheerful* Aspect, against the variously *disquieting* *Phantoms* of devout Jealousy; and such *morose* and *unfriendly* Exhibitions of Divinity, as a melancholic Imagination might be apt to form to itself from a Nature, powerful, but imperfectly comprehended. Religion, in plain Truth, from the mere Weight and Importance of its Subject runs so naturally into the *tragic* Vein, that we must arm ourselves with a competent Pleasantry of Disposition, and Stock of good Spirits, before we set about it, or we shall certainly make a *thorow* Tragedy of it in the End. Thus indeed it has too often ended in Fact; as the Poet long ago complained*, and you will have too frequent Examples in that Report of its History, which, *Hortensius*, if you continue to require it, has instructed me to make to you. What you have now before you, is a kind of general Introduction to this Subject. In which, *Hortensius*, by way of Key to the more considerable Articles, he had, you know, engaged himself to speak to, of *false Practice*, has examined briefly into the Origin, and primitive Constitution of *false Theory in Religion*, in the Pagan World. The particular Occasion of which Disquisition was, I hasten to acquaint you, as follows.

* *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.*

Lucret. lib. i.



P A R T II.

FINDING my self, one Morning, after Breakfast, alone in the Possession of *Hortensius* in his Study ; we have now (said I to him) an excellent Opportunity, if you have no particular Engagement of your own upon your hands, to resume the Subject of our Conversation the other Night *. You then abundantly convinced me of the wretched Absurdity of *False Religion* ; I wish you would now proceed to the Execution of your Promise to me in conclusion, of running over with me the general History of it in the World.

THE History of *False Religion* (said he) *Philemon*, is the History of all those numberless Misapplications to which the Apprehension of superior invisible Agency in the Universe ; as reasonable, as it is natural, to precarious and dependent Humanity ; is liable, from the ignorant and cowardly Credulity of one Part of our Species ; and the subtil enterprizing Sagacity, and Invention of the

* See a Pamphlet intituled, *Phil. to Hyd.* Part II.

the other. 'Tis a Subject of equal Extent, in the religious Consideration of Mankind, with all that Folly has ever been weak enough to submit to; or Knavery artful enough to authorize. To trace it back to its ~~first~~ Origin in the World, is, in a manner, to trace back human Absurdity and Corruption to a first Period. It is to detect all the multiplied Delusions of the Mistaken; and the Stratagems of the Designing: To disclose all the secret Occasions of Misapprehension to the Simple; all the corresponding Opportunities of Imposture to the Crafty. Such in general is the History of False Religion—a History, I need not observe to you, so connected with that of Mankind *in general*, that an accurate Delineation of the one presupposes an exact Knowledge of the other. Nor need I suggest to you the necessary Consequence of this Observation; the Allowance required to be made in a Re-search of this Nature for, what you are too well acquainted with, to be here informed of, the doubtful and defective State of more ancient and remote History. The truth is, a great part of the *Ritual* of ancient Superstition lies buried in impenetrable Obscurity. An Attempt to explain it would now-a-days be as fruitless, as of old it would probably have been held irreverent or criminal. But notwithstanding in the Progressive Advancements of its Empire, we may be too often at

a loss to adjust the true Reason and Meaning of *particular Institutions*, we may, I think, discern enough of its more *general Scope* and *Tendency*, to satisfy ourselves upon competent Evidence and Observation in this regard, “ that however, in the variety of Seasons, “ and Circumstances, the *Engines* of its Tyranny have been almost infinitely diversified, the *Spirit* of it has been always one “ and the same.” It has, in short, been ever doing just what it is at this day ; enslaving the Minds, perverting the Affections, harassing the Persons, and ingrossing to its self the Properties of Mankind.

—*Servatur ad imum*

Qualis ab incepto processerit—

To fix some Method to our Inquiry, *Philemon*, you must give me leave to transport you for a while, from the more familiar Scenes of *European Slavery* of this sort, to that favourite Realm, and if not originally *Parent-Soil* of Superstition (as it was by some of its own fanciful Naturalists said to be of the Species of Mankind *,) yet doubtless *wonderfully successful one* in the universal Culture and Improvement of it ; *Egypt* †.

If

* Φασιν Αιγυπτιοι καλα την εξ αρχης των όλων γενεσιν πρωτες Ανθρωπες γενεσθαι καλα την Αιγυπτου, δια τε την ευκρασιαν της χωρας, και δια την φυσιν του Νειλου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 9.

† Αιγυπτιοι θεοσεβεις δε περισσως ευλεις μαλιστα παντων Ανθρωπων. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 37.

If she had not in strict Truth the proper Merit of original *Invention*, she has engrossed to herself however, almost the whole Glory of *Example* in the kind ; having by early Exportations of her Natives to foreign Countries, especially to *Greece*, and the *Asiatic* Islands, circulated her Superstitions together with her Discoveries of a happier Influence, as her own proper Growth and Produce, thro' the far greatest Part of the western World. We have moreover, by means of the frequent Communications of *Greece* with *Egypt*, in the more advanced Periods of *Grecian* Literature, an Opportunity afforded us of knowing much more of the religious Customs of *Egypt*, than of any other Nation of equal Antiquity. Her Reputation was very high for *Wisdom*, both in sacred and profane Estimation, from the earliest Monuments we have of either. And one great Instance of this Wisdom she so much excelled in, we have good reason to believe, was the Science of Religion apply'd, as she thought, to the Purposes of a more improved Legislation. It was the Credit of *this*, together with that of her Philosophy in general, that drew over the more inquisitive Wits of *Greece* to a Participation of her important Secrets in both kinds. Her *Colleges* were esteemed the great Repositories of useful Knowledge. And Travelling was in those times, as it is still in
our

our own, *Philemon*, reputed the finishing Article of a refined Education.

THERE cannot be a stronger Image of Ridicule, (I could not help here interrupting) *Hortensius*, than arises from the Comparison of certain *modish Travellers* of later Ages, with the *travell'd Literati* of Antiquity. Methinks, 'tis great pity we should still retain a Reverence for the mere outward Ceremony of this Practice, whilst, as it is too often managed, it serves little other purpose, than to reproach us with having altogether forgot, or mistaken the main End and Reason of it. It was the Improvement of the Mind, not barely the forming a Person, or acquiring only a little sprightly Impertinence, and modish Address, that was thought worth travelling for in the Judgment of ancient Wisdom. Had any of the *Travelled* of those Days been found to have returned to their own Country with the Importation only of foreign Vice, Folly, and Extravagance, instead of useful Information, improved Curiosity, and real Knowledge; they would have been esteemed to have done something much worse than barely making a foreign Tour *ridiculous*.

THEY certainly would so, (returned *Hortensius*) but the mischief is, we are come to look upon Travelling as an Accomplishment
merely

merely of the *polite* Kind, instead of what the Ancients did, as, principally at least, of the *learned* one. And as both our Notion of, and Preparation for it, are extremely different from theirs, 'tis no wonder our Success in it should be so too. They set out, as you have rightly observed, upon quite other Views than a bare fashionable Ramble, or Opportunity of genteel Expence. If they visited an *Egyptian Convent*, it was not only to be able to report its *Situation*, or its *Architecture*, but to learn its *Mysteries*. To acquaint themselves with the Substance and History of its Discoveries either in *Science* or *Religion* ; and observe the real Ground and Foundation of that *awful Reverence* from the Populace of its particular District, which supported both its Wealth and Dignity. This was penetrating into the intire Secrets of the Order ; and would, if compassed, as it was only to be, by certain preparative Disciplines of Sacerdotal Appointment, and sometimes very tedious Applications to the Interests, or Vanity of the Priesthood, afford them that Light into the general Theory and Constitution of the popular Worship of the Country, which, with due Reserves to the *profound Sanctity* of the important Subject, in many Cases to be *adored* only, without being *publickly comprehended* ; they have several of them transmitted to Posterity.

It was a remarkable Instance (said I) of this *reserved Manner*, and uncommunicative Closeness of the *Egyptian Hierarchy*, what *Strabo* relates of *Plato* and *Eudoxus*; *teen* “ that in a stay of ~~thirty~~ Years in *Egypt*,
 “ and a course of constant Application and
 “ Obsequiousness to the Priests of *Heliopolis*,
 “ they at length with great Difficulty extort-
 “ ed from them the Discovery, that the true
 “ Measure of the Year consisted of six Hours
 “ over and above the common Reckoning
 “ then used in *Greece* *.” One would have thought, the Reputation of being the Discoverers in this Case, should have inclined them to a readier Communication of what could not but heighten their learned Character. If they esteemed the Observation, as it certainly was, a very important one to the Service of common Life, it was surely a most *unbenevolent Policy* in them to affect to make a *Mystery* of it; a Narrowness of Thinking not easily to be forgiven in such *knowing* and *sacred* Characters.

AN

* Συνδιέτριψαν τοῖς ἱερευσίν εκείνοι εὐταυθα τρισκαίδεκα ἐτὴ· περὶ τοὺς γὰρ οὐλὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανόων, μουσικοὺς δὲ καὶ δυσμελῆδους, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς θεραπαταῖς ἐξελιπαρήσαν, ὥστε τινὰ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἰσορῆσαι——τα ἐπὶ πρὸς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς μορία ταῖς τριακασίαις ἐξηκούσιν πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν ἐκπληρώσιν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνου παρέδοσαν. Strab. Geog. Lib. 17. p. 806.

AN Affectation of *Mystery* (returned *Hortensius*) even in Subjects where one would least expect it, was the *prevailing Characteristic* of *Egyptian Literature*, as well as Religion. I believe the singular Use they experienced it to be of in the Purposes of the one, introduced the Practice of it into the other. They had *so many* Occasions for the *reserved Manner* in their Theological Concerns, that the Habit by degrees became general, and extended it self to their Conduct in other matters. The Difficulty with which *Pythagoras*, long before the Times you have been speaking of, obtained the Honour of Admittance to the Arcana of the sacred Tribe, is at large related by *Porphyry* from *Antiphon**. Even with the Recommendation of a royal Mandate for the Purpose, obtained at the Request of *Polycrates* from King *Amasis*, he could hardly at last succeed in the Execution of his Design; but was turned over from one *College* to another, upon certain Punctilio's of *Ceremony* between the several Establishments; from *Heliopolis*, to *Memphis*, and from thence again to *Thebes*; where, when for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the King, the Priests durst not trifle with him any longer; they hoped however to discourage him from his Pursuit, by the barbarous *Severity* of their preparatory

* Porph. de Vita Pythag. p. 183.

Disciplines, and Rites of Initiation *. But finding him still resolute and persevering, they at length fairly took him into their Secret ; and, as appears by his After-Conduct, made a *thorow Mystic* of him. But in truth, *Philemon*, they had a better Reason than merely an acquired Moroseness, or Reserve becoming the Stateliness of a more *raised* and *dignified* Character, for adopting this *stey Manner*, and *cautious Ceremony* into their *Philosophic Teaching* ; since in reality, the very foundation of their *instituted Religion*, and all its important *Mysteries* was laid in certain *Dogmata* or Principles of their Philosophy. “ It was the Worship of the several
 “ *Powers*, and *Passions* of external Nature
 “ *exemplified* by an artificial Accommoda-
 “ tion in the History, Adventures, and Suffer-
 “ ings, of certain of their *earliest Heroes*, and
 “ great Men of Antiquity ; whose Benefac-
 “ tions to their Country and commonest Pas-
 “ sages of Life, were by Time, and a suc-
 “ cessively heightened Tradition, wrought
 “ up to that *critical Measure of Obscurity*,
 “ which in the Language of a late polite
 “ Author, of your Acquaintance, *is the best*
 “ *Light to place a Wonder in*† : that in the
 “ due

* Νομισαντων εν τω μεγεθει της κακοπαθειας απο-
 στησειν αυτου της εκβολης, προσταγματα σκληρα και κε-
 χωρισμενα της ελληνικης αγωγης. κελευσαι υπομειναι
 αυτου. Ubi supra.

† The Life of *Homer*, p. 277.

“ due Progress and Refinement of Regal and
 “ Sacerdotal Politics, made up the *standing*
 “ *Body* and *complete System* of *Egyptian au-*
 “ *thorized Theology* *.” It was a Work of
 much time, *Philemon*, and required no or-
 dinary Reach of Thought, and Subtlety of
 Invention to bring it to that approved *Per-*
fection in the kind, as to give the Law to all
 succeeding religious Establishments of Pagan
 Antiquity ; and having drawn over the *Wis-*
dom of *Greece* to an Examination of its *Con-*
duct and *Genius*, to send them back to their
 own Country resolved within their respective
 Influences to introduce its *Practice*. The
 Origin of all this Parade of *elaborate*, and too
 often *barbarous Heroe-physiologic* Superstition,
 was, if you will take the word of a *Right*
Reverend Greek Historian of *Christian* times,
 supported, if *such* a Character can need a Sup-
 port, in his Assertion by the unanimous Suf-
 frage of the best *Pagan* Authorities in the
 Point, extremely simple and popular. Be-
 ing indeed nothing else but the *artless De-*
votion which Minds naturally apprehensive
 of *superior active Power* in the Universe,
 and desirous at the same time, for the ease both
 of Conception and Address, to assign it some
 particular visible Residence, could not avoid
 paying

* Quippe Sacerdotes Historiæ, ac Naturæ gnari, at-
 tendebant in re Gestæ quid simile foret in Natura : ac
 pro utroque formabant sacra sua. *Voss. de Idol. Lib. 2.*
Cap. 56. p. 617. 4to.

paying to the most *striking, operative, and useful* Objects they had any acquaintance with, the Sun, Moon, and Host of Heaven *.

OF all the various kinds of idolatrous Worship (interposed I) this surely, *Hortensius*, is the most innocent, or at least excusable one. 'Tis well for us, even in these Ages of improved Light and Information, that the Familiarity of these Objects has a natural Effect to abate the Wonder, and awful Impression of them; or I question, whether our *Religion* itself would be sometimes found a sufficient Check to prevent our relapsing into *Paganism* in this Article. Seriously, *Hortensius*, a Man had need be of a more than ordinary cautious and philosophic Make, or an infinitely stupid and insensible one, to attend

* Αλλ' ὅτι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ παλαιότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐτε ναῶν οἰκοδομίας προσειχόν, οὐτε ξοανῶν ἀφιδρυμασιν, οὐπὼ τῶν γραφικῆς, οὐδὲ πλαστικῆς, ἢ γλυπτικῆς, ἢ ἀνδριαντοποιητικῆς τέχνης ἐφευρημένῃς, οὐδὲ μὲν οἰκοδομικῆς, οὐδὲ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς συνεισώτης, πάντι τῶν οἰμαι συλλογιζομένῳ ἄλλον εἶναι· οὐτ' οὐν τις ἢ αὐτοῖς Ζεὺς, οὐ Κρόνος, οὐ Ποσειδῶν, οὐκ Ἀπολλών, οὐκ Ἥρα, οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ Διόνυσος, οὐδὲ τις ἕτερος θνητῆς τε καὶ ἀρρητῆς θεός, οἷοι μὲν ταῦτα μυρίοι παρὰ τε Βαρβάρους καὶ Ἑλλήσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δαιμόνων τις ἀγαθός, ἢ φαῦλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐθαυμάζετο· μόνον δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν οὐρανίων ἀστρῶν, παρὰ τοῦ θεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τρεχεῖν, θεῶν τε προσηγορίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, εὐγχαίνε. . Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 30.

tend the *illustrious Solemnities* of opening Sunshine; without some *warmer* Emotions than a merely speculative Admiration! Struck with the surpassing Splendor and Majesty of the Appearance, and cheered by the gladsome Influences, and intimate Refreshment of the all-inlivening Beam, how hard is it to suppress the rising Transports of a too eager Gratitude, and guard against the Inclination to something of *immediate Devotion*! How difficult; even with the Help of his *Physics*, as well as of his *Creed*, to repel the Infection of that universal Chorus of Joy, and seemingly-*religious* Acclamation of the *auspicious Presence*, of which all inferior animated Nature affords him the inticing Example! But happily for the Faith of the *politer World*, *Hortensius*, who, it must be own'd, are *most in Danger* from Temptations to renounce it, they are in no peril of being stagger'd in it from this Quarter. A certain false Refinement of Living, supposed the *Privilege* of higher Birth and Education, has thrown a Discredit upon the Entertainment of this *imbellished early Scene*, as being in the Poet's Language,—*Ufu plebeio trita voluptas* *—a Species of Pleasure disgraced by vulgar Use; and its being accessible to all who have Sense enough, or Nature enough left in them, to partake of it! a Scene, *Hortensius*, which, because it affords
the

* *Petron. Arb.*

the *commonest*, does for that very Reason, in the beneficent Appointment of Things, afford likewise the most *exquisite* Entertainment ! an Entertainment of such unparallel'd Beauty, Delicacy, and Magnificence, that the most elaborate Refinements of human Art and Elegance ; the heighten'd Ornaments and august Grandeurs of a Palace ; the glittering Oeconomy and wanton Lustres of an Assembly ; the studied Pageantry and Decorations of a Theatre ; *hide their diminished Heads*, and shrink into nothing upon the Comparison ! I am fallen, *Hortensius*, as you see, into a kind of natural Enthusiasm. But really the Image here is so transporting, even to us who view it in the *mild Lights* of a *Philosophy*, no less than a *Religion*, conspiring to weaken the Force of it ; that in Ages far less improved in *both*, I see not how it was possible not to be misled by it, without some supernatural Assistance to that Purpose. Nor can I well conceive it within the Capacity of more ignorant and uninformed Simplicity, in the first Ages of Mankind, to withstand, without some previous Guard from immediate Revelation, the Seducements of so *specious* an Idolatry. How naturally would the inquisitive Curiosity of recent and wondering Mortals, equally unfurnished with the Materials, and unpractised in the Arts of more *correct* and *philosophic* Reasoning, not only address itself,

as

as our Poet *Milton* describes *Adam* to have done, for the Resolution of this important Question,

—*How came I thus, how here?*
Not of myself— *

To that most *probable* Author of Information in this Affair,

The golden Sun—

In the Judgment of one who was well acquainted with the great Object he compared him to;

In splendor likest Heaven. †

Equally suited to *allure* both their *Eyes*, and their *Adoration*: But even presume it had received a very *satisfactory* Answer in the Point; when it had ascribed the Origin of its own Existence, and the whole World's about it, to this *seemingly adequate* Cause, and *genial Power* of the System! Especially, would it be inclined to do so, when having first experienc'd the Horrors of his Absence, and in the Gloom and Sadness of the Night despaired of any *lasting Continuance* of Being, it discovered him at his appointed Season returning again in the East; the Restorer of Light, and Comfort,

D

and

* *Par lost*, Book 8. 273, 277—8.

† Book 3. 572—3.

and *Renewer* of a *suspected perishing* World!
when, as our Poet speaks;

*First in the East his glorious Lamp was seen,
Regent of Day; and all th' Horizon round,
Invested with bright Rays—— **

Under these Circumstances, *Hortensius*, I can think of no expedient to prevent Men's instantly falling down and worshipping him, but an authoritative Interposal and Prohibition from *His*, and *Their*, *immediate* Maker. In short, *Hortensius*, the Temptations in new-formed and uninstructed Man to a *wrong* Religion seem to be so powerful, that I cannot imagine he could of *himself* in many Ages reason out a *right* one.

You have given the Reins to your Fancy, (resumed *Hortensius*, with his usual Complaisance) very entertainingly; *Philemon*. I was unwilling to interrupt your Flow of Thought, and check your agreeable Enthusiasm, or I could have told you I was fully possess'd of your Sentiment some time ago. You would have the first Man *supernatural-ly* let into the true Notion of a Deity, not so properly to *preclude* his rational Inquiries concerning One, as to *direct* them. To prevent the Delusions of a too hasty Imagination; and put him upon a right Scent and Train of Thinking,

* *Par. lost*, Book 7. 370—I.

Thinking. Rather to guard him against Error, than to teach him positive Truth. Religion, the great Lines of it, were undoubtedly intended to be the Deductions, as they are fairly within the compass, of sound Reason. If any *supernatural* Discovery of them was at first made, it was, we may imagine, however, of the most *general* Kind; and designed only to supply the Place of that Reasoning and Philosophy, which as yet was necessarily of impracticable Attempt, thro' the Defect of those *requisite Materials* to it, a previous competent Acquaintance with, and Observation of Things: However, in its proper Season and Opportunities of Exercise, it was manifestly *ordained*, as it is thorowly qualified, of Heaven, to be the Instrument to Mankind, of assuring to themselves the same important Truths upon Principles of a rational Conviction.

I would not be understood (said I) *Hortensius*, in any wise to undervalue the Evidence and Authority of Reason. Nor can I, indeed, see any Disparagement to it in supposing, that it could not go to work without necessary Instruments; or that a Faculty of Judging upon examined Evidence could not exert itself, 'till such Evidence was laid before it: any more than I can discover the Justness of that Conclusion which some would establish from hence;

that Reason, *now in its Maturity of Age and Observation*, is no safe Guide, no proper Arbitrator in Matters of Religion. It seems to me to be asserting, that because Reason cannot proceed *without* Ideas; therefore it cannot afterwards *with* them. Because a Man has *no Use* of his Eye-sight in the *Dark*, therefore he is to *distrust* the Reports of it in *open Day*. A Disingenuity of Thinking, which shews either a very weak Cause, or a very injudicious, as well as unfair Management of it.

ONE may, I think, from hence discern pretty clearly (reply'd *Hortensius*) the high Ridicule and Absurdity of those pompous Representations which are sometimes given us of the *superior Wisdom*, and almost *Angelic Penetration*, of the *first Parent* of Mankind, upon his new Introduction into the World. And with how unwarrantable a Civility he is by some Writers of his History complimented into a Degree of Understanding, and Force of Genius, so much *beyond* the utmost Reach and Comprehension of his Posterity. * He had, it should seem, little

* Ουτος (Αδαμ ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος) δικαίως ἀν πρῶτος καλοῖτο σοφός, ὡς πάντων τῶν χαρίτων ὑπαρχῶν ἀναπλεῶς, καὶ πάντα κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀκρίβητα περὶ φρονήσεως τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος αἰσθητήρια· μαρμαρυγαὶ γὰρ τινες, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἀπαστραπτούσαι, καὶ θεῶν ἐννοειῶν τε καὶ ἐνεργείων πληθύνουσαι, κατὰ πάσαν εἰσέτρεχον

little Cause to be *conceited* of the *Privilege*, however he had done well to have *thankfully submitted* to the *Authority* of a *supernatural* Guidance and Direction; of which, we see, the *whole* Reason, Opportunity, and Expedience, arose meerly from his *own personal* Incapacity, and *natural* Ignorance.

IF the intellectual Advantages of our first Parent (interpos'd I) had been really so much *superior* to those of all his Descendents, as they are sometimes said to have been; methinks all who have any *Tenderness* for his Reputation should choose rather to conceal the *Superiority* of his Talents, than display them to the so much *greater Reproach* of his shameful Negligence and Misconduct in the *Use* and *Application* of them; for which,

if

εἰς τρεῖς ὧν Φυσιν. Suidas voce Adam. Upon which the learned Editor very justly remarks, Auctorem hunc anonymum exiguo Judicio præditum fuisse, et verè de eo dici potuisse proverbiale illud, “ Flumen verborum, et gutta Mentis” ex tota hac de Adam Ecloga satis apparet.——It was, no doubt, in Virtue of these superior Talents, that upon a very slight Experience in the Kind, he was nevertheless able to write, as the *Rabbins* inform us he did, de omnibus et singulis Mundanarum rerum virtutibus.—Unless these, together with the several Revolutions of Nature, were part of those Instructions from above, which the same Authors relate to have been the Subject of the *Book of the Generations of Adam*; mention'd *Gen. 5. 1.* and in which, it seems, were explained, omnia a Principio Mundi usque ad consummationem Ejus. *Vid. Kircheri Obel. Pamph. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.*

if it be true, that he was indeed the *wisest*, I am sure it is much more so, that he was incomparably the *weakest*, as well as *wickedest* of his whole Kind. But after all, *Hortensius*, I think we have no Reason to suppose that he was at all different from the Generality of his Species, either in his natural or moral Accomplishments; farther than what the necessary Difference of his Situation and Circumstances made him. Which, if they might be in some respects perhaps rather *more favourable* to the latter, as administring *fewer Opportunities* of Temptation within the few Relations he could then be supposed to act under; (tho' the Event shews he yet found Means to transgress even them) were certainly far *less so* to the former; his natural Indowments; than those of any of his Posterity. Inasmuch as it was his *peculiar* Disadvantage, a Disadvantage arising out of the very Necessity of his Condition; to want all those Helps to his Judgment of Things, from the Experience, Observation, and Reasoning of past Times, which are in a manner *hereditary* to later Ages; and set them much *forwarder* in Informations of all sorts necessary to the Conduct of Life, almost in the *first Article* of it, than a *single Individual* could be supposed to be at the *conclusion* of a very considerable old Age. But to leave our venerable Progenitor to the quiet Possession of all
that

that really is his due, of whatever Kind ; let us pursue our main Subject of Inquiry, *Hortensius* ; in which, I suppose, he is very little concerned. For whatever *other* Faults he may be charged with, I imagine he was scarcely guilty of *Superstition*.

HAVE a care of being too sanguine, *Philemon* (returned *Hortensius*) I doubt I could disprove your Conjecture, if I was so disposed ; and produce Evidence, such as it is, of his being not only infected with, but even Author of a very prevailing Superstition in all Antiquity ; the religious Adoration of the Moon. 'Tis true, the same Authorities tell us, that he had received Obligations from her as his native Soil and Country ; where, prepared with requisite Instructions for the Ceremony of her *Apotheosis*, he was sent down to the Earth to appoint in due Time her *sacred Ritual* and *Liturgy* ; in a Character he was to sustain from her previous Designation, of the *Embassador* or *Apostle* of this *Queen of Heaven*. * His Son *Seth* indeed was staggered at this new Doctrine, and Institution ; and could not be prevailed upon

* It was Part of the *Zabian* Creed, derived to them, as we learn from *Kircher*, from the Family of *Cham* ; to wit, *Chus*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*, the Peoplers of *Asia* and *Africa* ; *Adamum e Lunâ prodiisse*. *Propheetam inibi ex masculo et fœmina procreatum ; atque in hunc mundum venientem primum cultum Lunæ docuisse*. Vid. *Oedip. Ægypt.* p. 166.

upon to admit the *Credentials* of his Father's Mission *; but *Cain* was of a less scrupulous Make, and paid all due Reverence to this *Lunar Envoyship*; and has accordingly the honor in some Writers I could name, of standing second in the List of Antediluvian Idolaters. †

I HOPE (said I) *Hortensius*, this lunar Apostleship and Designation of our first Parent was no Part of *those Revelations* made to him when he fell into a *deep Sleep*; which, if I mistake not, I have somewhere read, he is mentioned by one of the Fathers, ‡ as being reported to have himself committed to writing; to the, no doubt, wonderful Information of his Posterity, if we had but been so *fortunate* as to have this important *paradisiacal* Vision conveyed safely down to us.

IT might, I think, be more *naturally* recorded (replied *Hortensius*) in *another* Composition of this truly *original* Author's, mentioned by St. *Austin*, *The Book of his Penitence*.

FROM whence (said I) as a Pattern of *Right-primitive* Discipline, who knows, but

* Seth contradixit opinioni patris sui in servitio Lunæ—Ub. Sup.

† See Bishop *Cumberland's* *Sanchoniatho*,

‡ *Epiphanius*.

but the Father himself might take the useful Hints of his own *Confessions*? as, to carry the Analogy a little farther, from the Tradition I was speaking of, of the Protoplast's being himself so powerfully *Vision-struck*, it may possibly have come to pass, that most of those Writers who have attempted his History, have thought it necessary to obtain a proper Touch of the Visionary-passion.

THESE Instances (resum'd *Hortensius*) of Conceits about our first Parent, to which numberless others might be added from Christian Fathers, as well as Jewish Rab-
bins, or *Arabic* Legendaries; if they are at first sight more obviously *ridiculous*, are, believe me, full as *well-grounded*, as some Imaginations of a much *sobrerer* Aspect, that have been indulged by better Authors, upon the same Subject. Seriously, *Philemon*, when one considers the Volumes that have been here filled with Romances, both of the grave, and the lighter kind, it might almost incline one to suspect something more than a mere *Arabian Whimsy* in the Hypothesis of the *lunar Apostolate*, and that the great *Prophet of the Moon* had really made very free with *certain* Influences of his principal Deity, in distempering the Minds of his inspired Train; were it not, that avoiding all unhandsome Reflections either on the *Goddess*, or her *Minister*, one

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can

can pretty easily solve the Problem another Way; without stirring a Foot from the Surface of our Mother *Earth*. In short, *Philemon*, Men will be concluding without Premises. They first devise, each according to his particular Genius, a System of Opinions; and then torture both Fact and Invention to furnish out Proofs. They in-throne an *Idol Presence* in the Court of their own Brain, and then industriously cast about for Evidences to make out the Phantom's Title to Adoration.

AND they had need have the *Lynx's Beam*, (I interposed) to discern any Countenance to some Idol-Theories I could name, from the *only* Authority they have any Right to appeal to in the Case; the few imperfect Hints afforded us of the History and Circumstances of the new Creation, within the compass of three Chapters only of our Bible, and those perhaps of more intricate and disputable Interpretation, than any others in the whole sacred Collection.

THE more obscure the better, (returned *Hortensius*;) Are not you aware, *Philemon*, that there is always most room for Conjecture, where there is least certainty of Fact? and 'tis *that* after all that furnishes Materials to the endless Volumes we have been speaking of; and gives, as an *excellent* Writer

Writer has it, such a *Roundness* to some favorite Systems of Divinity *. A few Hints well managed, with an Invention to supply Chasms, and help out Deficiencies, will work *Wonders* in the kind.

FOR our Comfort (replied I) we have at present no concern with these Systematic Gentlemen. 'Tis true, I have carried up your Thoughts to a first Man, whom I have supposed both *supernaturally* produced, and instructed. But I have no desire to ingage you in any of the *subsequent* Perplexities of the paradisiacal State. I am for leaving the Solution of these Difficulties to more *authorized* Expositors; who can talk as *familiarly* both of the *natural*, and *moral* History of that State, as if they themselves had been of the Party with their venerable Progenitor; or the several Transactions supposed to have passed there, were Matters of *every Day's* Occurrence. The Principle I am pleading for neither requires their Assistance in its support, nor stands charged with any of their Absurdities. 'Tis such a one as mere *good Sense* would lead us to acquiesce in, if an *inspired* Historian had not authorized it to us. The Species must have had a beginning; and an Effect of this Nature could not have been produced without some adequate Cause; and what so suitable Agent

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* Warburton's Div. Leg. of Moses, p. 402.

can we employ here, as an omnipotent and infinitely benevolent Deity? Then as to a divine Instruction, it seems as necessary to the right Institution of the infant moral World, as a divine Agency to the Being of the natural One. In both Cases, I think, we do not bring in a *Deus ex Machinâ* only; the Introduction of him seems equally unavoidable, as it is important.

I AM in the number of the most confirmed Believers (return'd *Hortensius*) as to the first of these Articles; and I think there is a strong probability of the second. Yet, methinks, I am a little staggered to reconcile such a seeming tenderness and concern of Heaven in the Cause of true Religion, with that early Introduction, and almost boundless consequent Empire, of which I am going to give you in some sort the History, of False.

HOWEVER early it came into the World, (replied I) *Hortensius*, notwithstanding the kind Caution I am pleading for, it would certainly have come in earlier *without* it. It must indeed in this Case, as it should seem, have been strictly coeval with the Species of Mankind. And surely such an apparent necessitating Men to a wrong Worship, is at least a *harder* Thought of infinite Wisdom and Veracity, than a mere Per-
mission

mission of them, in the neglect or abuse of their natural Understanding and Liberty, to fall off from a prescribed right one. We are apt, it may be, to over-rate both the Measure, and the Force, of these *original Suggestions*; as much as some have done the *natural Powers* of the first Man. As if all superior Interposition must either be extended to the establishing a complete System of speculative Religion; or prevail to the absolute Determination of the human Will to that which is practical. Doubtless the Voice of Heaven in these early Notices to its infant Creature was altogether of the *still small Kind*. The Impulse was, as it ought to be, extremely gentle, suited to the natural Freedom of the interested Party. And the Effect of it, we may imagine, was like that of the fam'd *Socratic Genius*, chiefly of the restraining sort: calculated more to prevent a misapplied Devotion, than to institute a perfectly rational One. Perhaps a more forcible Application, or a superior Degree of infused Light, would have been incompatible with that rational Liberty of *Man*, which is the valuable Distinction of the *Homage* of an intelligent *moral* Creature, from the implicit Submission, and over-ruled Obedience of a mere senseless Instrument, or Machine. Upon the whole, whatever be the right Determination of this Point, there is, I am sensible, no disputing
 against

against Fact. But pray, how soon do you suppose, a *false Religion* to have actually taken place in the World ?

I WAS for giving the Difficulty (return'd he) its utmost force ; in order to hear what you would find to say in extenuation of it. For to deal ingenuously with you, *Philemon*, I do not believe the Introduction of *false Religion* was near so early as it has been sometimes represented ; or that indeed there was any such Thing in Being within the sixteen hundred Years of the Antediluvian World. I am sensible, if I was disposed to pay any great Deference to a Fragment of *Phœnician* History, the Credit of which has been so zealously asserted by a great Writer of *Episcopal* Dignity in our own Country ; I could fix the Date of *false Worship* very high even in that Period. For the immediate second Generation of our Kind is said in this Account to have been guilty *in a Time of Drought* of direct Idolatry to the Sun *. And our learned Voucher for the *Phœnician's* Authority in the point, supposes *Cain* to have been so effectually confirm'd in this idolatrous Disposition, before the time of that first Instance of external Devotion in the World, which our sacred History has recorded,

* This is reported of *Genus*, the Son of *Protoponus*, in *Sanchoniatho*, whom the Bishop makes to be *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*.

recorded, the Sacrifice of the two *original Brothers*; that the secret Apostacy of his Heart from the orthodox Belief of his Family, was the true Ground of that signified Disapprobation of his Offering, which in the Event proved so fatal to his Fellow-worshipper. He was, it seems, an Infidel of the true *modish modern* Stamp; who in his Heart laughed at those weak Superstitions, which in his Practice he thought it prudent to comply with. Is not this, think you, a very extraordinary Piece of Refinement for that Age of primitive Simplicity?

HE was a Genius of the higher Order, (said I) I suppose; and of a much forwarder Apprehension of Things, than his more pious and orthodox Relative; and by a deeper Penetration of Thought, saw quickly thro' the Weakness of his *nursery Prejudices*; and the Fallacy of the *popular System* of his Time. I wonder, considering how strong an Instance he might be made of the *Hazard of Free-thinking*; and the dark Stain that is fixed by the sacred Historian upon his *subsequent moral* Character; we have not seen him produced in this View by the warmer Advocates for *System* in the World, to the Terror and Reproach of his Followers in *later Ages*; who to the unpardonable scandal and disquiet of these good Men,

Men, have presumed to dissent from certain prescribed Opinions of the *easiest* Digestion, and most *unquestionable* Evidence, under the *shameless* Pretence of thinking for themselves.

WHEN *false Religion* (resumed *Hortensius*) had thus early got footing in the World, it soon, you will imagine, found Means to enlarge its malignant Empire; for the great *Luminary* of Heaven, the Sun, being once exalted into the Character of *supreme Lord of it*, by this second Generation of Mankind; there succeeded only two more complete ones, before a new Species of Idolatry was introduced, the Worship of *Fire*, and a *Wind*, or *Tempest*, that had occasioned the accidental breaking out of it. The Celebration of which, we are told, was performed by setting up *Pillars*, or rather rude unwrought Stones, to the honor of the novel Deities; and paying a *religious Homage*, accompanied with *sanguinary Libations*, at these their Altars*. This happened in the *fifth* Age of the World; and was thought such a Refinement, we may suppose, upon the Idolatry of the preceding ones, that the Survivers of these *Elementary-Hierophants* complimented them after their decease, with some of the Honors of their own devising; in a grateful return for the Benefits

* Cumb. Sanch. p. 236.

Benefits of their new Institution : consecrating to them *Posts* and *Pillars*, after the example of those they had themselves erected to the two natural Deities ; and celebrating *anniversary Festivals* to their Memory *. And now the Idol-Interest was considerably advancing : For *Chryſor*, or *Vulcan*, who lived, in this Account, in the next Age but one, having invented *Iron*, and the use of the Forge, with some other Accommodations of Life, (was, after his death, admitted by the Men of the immediate succeeding Generation to the Honors of a more *explicite Religion*, and *direct Apotheosis* †. A Degree of Guilt, says our above-cited Commentator on the Fragment, which even this *wicked Brood*, of *Cainite* Extraction, “ fell “ not into till the eighth Generation ; till “ more than a thousand Years had harden’d “ them ; and divine Vengeance in the De- “ luge was drawing near in the next Gene- “ ration but one.” *A Judgment against the first Deifiers of Men*, which he thinks *worthy to be remark’d* ‡. So important an Instance of the Corruption of the *Antediluvian* World has our inspired History of this Period altogether passed over in silence ; and

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* ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΩΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΕΙΦΘΕΝΤΑΣ, ΦΗΣΙ, ΡΑΒΔΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΣΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΣΗΛΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΟΡΤΑΣ ΑΓΕΙΝ ΚΑΤ' ΕΤΟΣ. Ubi sup.

† Ὡς θεοὺς αὐτοὺ ἐσεβασθησαν. Ubi sup.

‡ Cumb. Sanch. p. 245.

left to be ascertained to us by a *Phœnician* Supplement; of an Age, doubtful indeed, but, past controversy, much *inferior to its own* * of which moreover the original *Authorities* are more to be suspected than the Age; and the *genuine* Conveyance, thro' the Hands of a right-reverend Father, from those of a very *late* Pagan Translator †, more justly questionable still than either.

ONE need not (interposed I) go any farther, I think, for a full Justification of the divine *Nemesis* in the Destruction of the primitive World by the Flood, supposing the Fact to have been as it is usually apprehended; than to that incorrigible Depravity, and infamous Corruption of Manners in those early Days; which the *sacred Historian* points out to us, as its immediate Provocation. Violence ‡, Iniquity, profligate and unpa-

* Auctor Vetustissimus, says the learned *Marsham*, of *Sanchoniatho*, sed Tyri condita, Trojanisque Temporibus longe Inferior. Can. Chron. p. 234. *Bochart* gives this Character of him—Nomen, aut Cognomen, inde sortitus, ex quo animam ad scribendum appulit, hoc ipso significabat se veritatis esse asseclam, et exquisitoris doctrinæ curiosum indagatorem; quod utinam tam re præstitisset, quam nomine profitebatur. Canaan lib. 2. cap. 17.

† *Philo Biblius*, in the time of *Adrian*.

‡ We have it reported of *Seth's* Family, that in the days of *Enos* his Son, in distinction from the *Cainites*, they called themselves by the name of the Sons

ralled'd Debauch, the reigning Characteristics, as it appears, of the more advanced Antediluvian Age; if they had not drawn down the Severity of a *supernaturally* interposing Vengeance, to the *extinction* of the abandoned Race; must in the *natural* Tendency of the Things themselves have soon accomplished the *universal Misery* of it. A Deluge might, for aught I know, be a very desirable Rescue

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Sons of God, *Gen. 4, 26.* So *Aquila's* Version renders the Place. *Τότε ηρχθη του καλειν εν ονοματι Κυριου.* And the marginal reading in our Bibles is agreeable hereto. This Passage, however, has been sometimes quoted in proof, that the very worst sort of Idolatry, the human Apotheosis, began as early as the days of *Enos*. But this Notion is intirely built upon a wrong Sense of the Words in the original. The motive to the Distinction here assumed in *Seth's* Line was not, so far as appears, the Idolatry of the *Cainites*, but their ill Lives. *Cain* himself was of a violent and resentful Disposition, and his Family seem, many of them, to have been of a like Temper and Complexion. For we read, *there were Giants*, or, as *Le Clerc* understands the *Hebrew* Word, *Nephelim*, Robbers, or Men of Violence, in the Earth in those days. Such as afterwards by the mixture of *Seth's* Family with *Cain's*, the whole Earth, except *Noah's* Family, was become, *Gen. 6. 11.* This, with the severe Law against Murder to *Noah* after the Flood, makes it probable that Violence was the reigning Vice of the Antediluvian World. And whereas in the permission of Animal Food, care is taken to forbid the eating of Blood; *Gen. 9. 3, 4, 5.* possibly, the *ωμοφαγια*, or feeding upon raw Flesh with the Blood in it, might have been practised before the Flood; and helped to sharpen the Spirits of Men in earlier Days.

from the more dreadful Overflowings of such increasing Wickedness. It might be even a kind Interposition in such Circumstances, to *dispeople* a World of Beings so resolute in their own undoing ; and by a decisive Stroke of instant Ruin to prevent the lengthen'd Pains of a more gradual Execution. But so it should seem (*Hortensius*) in our Author's account, that these Enormities in *Antediluvian Practice* were not fully ripe for Punishment, without the *finishing* Aggravation of a confirmed *speculative Mis-belief*. Nor is it indeed any new Doctrine in *Systematic Theology*, " That Errors in point of Opinion, are of a more heighten'd Guilt, " than any Failures in Conduct." The *condemning Quality* is by many of our Divines so *emphatically* ascribed to an *erroneous Faith*, that one would think *there were no* *Condemnation* to a *corrupt Morality*. And truly, if the *final* Distributions of Heaven were at all to be estimated from the *temporary* ones of some who boast themselves its commission'd *Embassadors*, a Man would run far less risque of his Salvation, who should break even the plainest of the Commandments ; than scruple the most *intricate Nicety* of an authoritatively imposed Creed, merely because he had not an Understanding to make either *Scripture* or *Sense* of it.

ONE would have hoped, however (proceeded *Hortensius*) that the memory of so signal an Interposition of Heaven against the first *Deifiers of Men*, should have given an effectual Check to the Practice for some considerable Time in the succeeding World. At least, that the chosen Family of *Noah*, who were themselves Eye-witnesses to the Fact, and owed it to an especial Providence on their behalf, that they survived the general Ruin; should have been too sensibly convinced of the fatal Consequences of it in the preceeding Generations, to have ventured setting the example of it to After-Times. The Event however was, as we are told, quite different. For they were no sooner almost preserved from the common Fate, to be the *Seed* of a renewed World, but they became likewise the Seed of a renewed Idolatry. For *Cronus*, or *Ham*, one of the immediate Progeny of *Noah*, who had been partaker with him in the affecting Providence of the *Ark*, after a Series of many other Violences to his Family, having at length arrived to the complete Infamy of most unnatural *Parricide*, had scarce accomplished the savage Purpose of his Father's *Murder*, but he proceeded to the impious Ceremony of his *Apotheosis*. He deify'd him, we are told, upon the very
Spot

Spot where he had dispatched him *. And to establish the credit of that Divinity he had raised him to, as well as to provide for his own personal Advancement to the same Honors after death, he contrived to charge him with a Pestilence that soon after raged in his Kingdom; and to appease this pretended *punishing Dæmon* †, the Author of the then instant Calamity, poured out the Blood of *his only Son* in Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his murdered Parent ‡: To such an height of savage Impiety was this immediate

* Οὐρανὸν τοῦ πατέρα λαβὼν (Κρόνος) ἐπιχειρίῳν ἐκ τέρμει αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα συνεγγὺς πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν· ἐνθα ἀφιερωθῇ οὐρανός, καὶ ἀπηρτίσθῃ αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα· Euseb. præp. p. 38. ἐνθα ἀφιερωθῇ, says Bishop Cumberland, “ He was consecrated forthwith, “ upon that very spot of ground. *Cronus* was of his “ mind, who said, *fit Divus, modo ne fit vivus*. He knew it would be honourable to himself to be believ’d the Son of a Deity; and that it might make way to his own Consecration when he should die. And when he had thus deified him, nothing could fix his consecration more, than that his Son, now a great Prince, should sacrifice to him. Cumb. Sanch. p. 146.

† Τιμῶρος Δαίμων, so Οὐρανός is here considered by *Porphyry* in *Euseb.* Book I. p. 40.

‡ Λοιμὸν δὲ γενομένου καὶ φθοράς, τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱοῦ μονογενῆ Κρόνος Οὐρανῷ πατρὶ ὁλοκαρποῖ. Euseb. præp. lib. i. p. 38. So confirmed an Idolater indeed was *Cronus*, in our Author’s Account, that the End of his Deification of Οὐρανός, or *Noah*, was, we are told, to make Posterity believe *Noah* approved of *Dæmon*-Worship himself; and by that means blot out the remembrance of his Picty. Cumb. Sanch. p. 147.

diate Spectator of a so late delug'd World,
 for Crimes of the very *same* complexion with
 his own, already arrived! But, it seems,
 however he had escaped the penalty of *Ante-*
diluvian Corruption, he had been a consi-
 derable Sharer in the guilt of it. For he not
 only himself gave into many *superstitious,*
magical, and *astrologic* Practices *before* the
 Flood; but plotted the successful propagation
 of them *after* it. “ He was unwilling,
 “ we are told by some Writers, that Poste-
 “ rity should lose the Benefit of Antedilu-
 “ vian Ingenuity, in these kinds; and ac-
 “ cordingly as the Deluge approached, ha-
 “ ving formed a System of what Knowledge
 “ himself was master of this way, he
 “ inscribed it on Plates of different Metals,
 “ and the hardest Stones he could meet with
 “ for the purpose. And knowing there
 “ would be no admission for Doctrines of
 “ this sort *into* the *Ark*, he repositied these
 “ valuable Institutes in the safest Places he
 “ could think of *out* of it; and when the
 “ Flood was over, went in search of them
 “ with the diligence so important a Disco-
 “ very required; till having fortunately got
 “ them again into his possession, he from
 “ henceforward professed a Mastership in
 “ his Art; and distinguished himself as the
 “ great *Magician* and *Astrologer* of the rising
 “ Gene-

“ Generation of Mankind *.” An Author, *Philemon*, who could thus *survive* the Ruins of an universal Deluge, might well be exempted from those lesser Injuries of Time, and *vulgar* Accidents, which have been so fatal to many Writers of a much inferior date. Nor are we, I think, to wonder, if after so signal an escape of this first Sketch of his *Antediluvian Magics*, succeeding improved Editions of the *same* Work should be extant as late as the learned *Bochart's* Age; who tells us of an *impious Treatise of the Elements and Praxis of Necromancy*, then in being, under the Title of, *The Scripture of Cham the Son of Noah* †.

THIS

* Quantum itaque antiquæ traditiones ferunt, *Cham* filius *Noe*, qui superstitionibus illis et sacrilegis artibus Infectus fuit, sciens nullum se posse super his librum in Arcam profus inferre, in quam erat unâ, cum patre justo, ac sanctis fratribus ingressurus; scelestas artes, ac profana commenta diversorum metallorum laminis, quæ scilicet non corrumperebantur injuriâ, et durissimis lapidibus insculpsit. Quæ, diluvio peracto, eâdem quâ illa celaverat curiositate perquirens, sacrilegiorum, et perpetuæ nequitiae seminarium transmisit, in posterôs. *Cassian. Coll. 8. cap. 21. Kirch. Ob. Pam. lib. 1. p. 4.* Dico igitur fieri non potuisse, says the last mention'd Author elsewhere, ut *Cham* peritissimus Astrologiæ, ac universæ naturæ consultus, ad instantiam suorum filiorum *Chus*, et *Misraim*, non aliqua scripserit. Cum, ut per regulas et præcepta in magicâ arte operandi labili filiorum memoriæ consuleret; tum, ut ad sui nominis Famam, &c. *Ob. Pam. cap. 2. p. 18. compare Qued. Æg. p. 84. also 245.*

† Invaluit opinio *Chamum* fuisse Magum, et car-

pine

THIS was probably a *Copy* only of the Work (said I) *Hortensius*. I wonder what is become of the true *original* Manuscript? Happy the Virtuoso Antiquary, if any such there be, who has the Possession of so choice a piece of antique Literature! how effectually would it shame some valued Treasures of Antiquarian Curiosity, mere *Novelties* in comparision!

You are not, I think (returned *Hortensius*) over fond of Domestic-History, *Philemon*, or I could let you into the *true Secret* of this *Cronus's* very early and singular Apostacy from the Religion of his Parents and Brethren. It was all owing to an unfortunate Alliance he had made by Marriage with a Branch of the *Cainite* Family. His Wife was of *idolatrous* extraction; being *Naamah*, the Daughter of *Lamech*, Sister to *Tubal-Cain*. The same Person, whom *Plutarch* in his *Egyptian* Antiquities calls *Nemaus*, Queen of *Byblus* in *Phœnicia* *;

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who

mine magico patrem, dum dormiebat nudus, ita devotasse, et obligasse, ut deinceps ad mulierem non potuerit affectari; et magicos Libros scripsisse; nam hodieque extat impium opus, continens elementa et praxim artis necromanticæ, sub titulo, scripturæ Chammi, Filii Noæ. *Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1.*

* If she was one of *Ham's* Wives, we may give a very probable reason for his falling into Idolatry, tho' his Father was so free from it. *Cumb. Remarks on Sanch. p. 107—8.*

who being the only *Female* mentioned by *Moses* in his Genealogy of *Cain's* Line *, must be conceived, it is conjectured, to be a Person of very distinguished Consequence †. Tho' methinks, her memory is not much *beholden* to the Civility of those Writers, who, from this passing notice of it, traduce her as the inticer of her Husband into the basest

* It has occasioned much Speculation amongst Commentators, what should be the reason of *Moses* his making ten Generations from *Adam* to the Flood, in *Seth's* Line, and seven only in *Cain's*. Saint *Austin's* Observations on this Question are very curious, and may serve to raise our Idea of Fatherly Interpretation of Scripture—Illud mihi nullo pacto prætereundum silentio videtur, quod cum *Lamech* septimus ab *Adam* fuisset inventus, tot ejus annumerati sunt filii, donec undenarius numerus impleretur, quo significatur Peccatum. Quoniam Lux denario numero prædicatur, profecto numerus undenarius, quum transgreditur denarium, transgressionem legis significat. Progenies ergo ex *Adam* per *Cain* sceleratum numero undenario finitur, quo peccatum significatur. Et ipse numerus a *Feminâ* clauditur; a quo sexu initium factum est peccati, per quod omnes morimur. Commissum est autem, ut et voluptas carnis, quæ spiritui resisterit, sequeretur. Nam et ipsa filia *Lamech*, *Noemâ*, id est, Voluptas, interpretatur. Per *Seth* autem ab *Adam* ad *Noe* denarius insinuatur legitimus numerus. Cui *Noe* tres adjiciuntur filii: unde, uno lapsa, duo benedicuntur a patre; ut remoto reprobo, et probatis filiis ad numerum additis, etiam duodenarius numerus intimetur; qui et in Patriarcharum, et Apostolorum numero insignis est, propter septenarii partes, alteram per alteram multiplicatas. Nam ter quaterni, vel quater terni, ipsum faciunt. De Civ. Dei Lib. 15. cap. 21. ap. fin.

† See *Cumb.* as above.

basest Idolatries ; nor to others of a like *conjectural* Stamp, who gather from the same Circumstance, that she was herself the *original Subject* of an *Apotheosis* the most *infamous* in all Paganism, the *Apotheosis* of *lustful Beauty* *. But whatever was the ground of *Ham's* religious Misbehaviour *before* the Flood, the *Rabbinic* Authors are no very reputable Expositors of Scripture, if he was not under a fatal *Devotion* to Offences of this sort *after* it. For such, it seems, is in their opinion the import of that Denunciation which his indecent Levity extorted from his affronted Parent, upon an occasion well known, against himself and his Progeny ; “ That they should not only be in “ Slavery to their collateral Kindred ; but to “ a Dominion of a more debasing and opprobrious kind, the *Tyranny* of the most “ execrable Superstition †.”

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I HOPE

* *Noema*, Filia *Lamechi*, *Mosi* memorata præter morem Scripturæ, quæ non solet in genealogiis referre fæminas. Alii, quia *Noema* venustum notat, eo arbitrantur esse *Venerem Gentium*. Tantam enim venustatem fuisse unius *Naama* prædicant, ut duo Angeli Dei, *Aza*, et *Azael*, ejus formâ capti, concubuerint ; et ex ea Dæmones genuerint, qui *Sedim* appellantur. Alii *Adamum* ipsum, illis centum et triginta annis quibus ab *Evâ* fuit separatus, fuisse cum *Naama*. Voss. de Orig. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 17.

† Gen. 25. Et vidit Cham pater Chanaan verenda patris sui ; Gen. 9. 22. To which Rabbi *Rassi* adds, it was believed, quod castraverit ipsum, et concubue-
rit

I HOPE (said I) our venerable Ancestor spoke here by a *prophetic Spirit*, declaring what in the natural course of things *would* come to pass in this Branch of his Posterity; and not intimating any disposition of his own what *should*. Otherwise his Anathema seems much too *severe* for the provocation that drew it from him; nor could he, I think, have well recovered his *Temperance*, when he uttered so merciless an Imprecation.

FOR the credit of his sobriety, *Philemon*, (replied he) I dare say the good Man, neither in *Prophecy*, nor *Resentment*, had any Thought of what he is here charged with. The Denunciation had quite another Aspect, and was accomplished after a very different manner *. Nor was indeed the spiritual Slavery here understood at all peculiar to *Canaan's* Posterity; having, as it should seem, equally prevailed within the Line of *Shem*,
when

rit cam eo—Cusii, says *Abenezra* on the Place, cultores fuere Idolorum, eo quod Noe *Chamo* maledixit—We must judge, says Bishop *Cumberland*, that even this worst part of Idolatry (human Sacrifice) was received and continued by *Ham* in *Canaan*, and *Egypt*, and the rest of his Dominions. *Cumb. Sanch. p. 147—8.*

* *Noe Chamum* execratus prædixerat fore, ut ejus posterii servi essent servorum. Atque id impletum in Chananæis tum, cum subire coacti sunt Israelitarum jugum. *Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. p. 3.*

when a particular Family of that Line was distinguished by a special Privilege in the Case; and separated from its idolatrous Kindred by an immediate interposition of Heaven for that purpose. And thus, *Philemon*, by running over with you several imaginary Establishments of Idolatry in the World, I have, I am afraid, insensibly brought down your Thoughts to the times of a real one. The particular Seat of it, I have in view, is the *Chaldean*, or ancient *Assyrian* Empire. From a City of which, *Ur of the Chaldees*, *Terah*, the Father of the Patriarch *Abraham*, some time before his death, which happened in the seventy-fifth Year of *Abraham's* Age, removed with his Family to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; upon a dissension from the *Urite* Establishment in Religion *. What this was, may be probably conjectured from the *Alexandrian* Chronicle; which records of *Ninus* the Successor of *Nimrod* in the *Assyrian* Empire, and who reigned 'till the ninth Year of *Abraham's* Life, that he taught the *Assyrians* to worship Fire †. He introduced, I would understand the Chronicle, the Worship of artificial Fire, as a Symbol of the *Fires*, or *Lights of Heaven*; which, if the Origin of *Chaldean* Idolatry may be judged of from that of all other Nations, were, doubtless, as the nature of the

* Compare *Gen.* 11. 31, 32. 12. 4. with *Judith* 5. 7, 8.

† *Chron. Alex.* p. 64.

the thing seems to point out, the first Objects of a mistaken Worship in the World. *Ninus*, we may imagine, thought to provide a remedy against the frequent absences, and disappearings of the heavenly Bodies, by appointing a *medium* of Adoration to them, which might be always at hand, and ready to receive the honours of those primary Divinities. Or, possibly, some farther Innovation here in *Abraham's* Time might occasion the Rupture between his Family and their Fellow-Citizens. For it does not appear that *Terah*, or *Abraham*, were at this time adherers to the *true* Worship, tho' they are mentioned as Separatists from a particular mode of *false* *. Whatever was the ground of their Dissension from the *Urite* Religion, the *Jewish* Authors inform us the quarrel in *Abraham's* Case ran so high, that he had inevitably fallen a Martyr to his particular Scruple,

* Mr. *Locke* in his Comment on *Rom.* 4. 5.—
 τω δε μη εργαζομενω, πιστευοντι δε επι του δικαιουντα του ασεβη, λογιζεται η πισις εις δικαιοσυνην—observes, that by these Words *Saint Paul* plainly points out *Abraham*, who was, ασεβης, ungodly, that is, a Gentile, not a Worshipper of the true God, when God called him, which he explains by the Word ασεβειαν, being used by the Apostle to express the State of the Gentile World as to their Atheism, Polytheism, and Idolatry, at the Revelation of the Gospel.—αποκαλυπ-
 τεται γαρ οργη θεου απ' ουρανου επι πασαν ασεβειαν ανθρωπων—*Rom.* 1. 18. See his Com. on the Places. As also, more at large on *Rom.* 5. v. 6 and 8.

Scruple, but that an especial *Providence* interposed in his Rescue. For the *Chaldeans*, it seems, were so resolute in their demands of Conformity to their authorized national Religion, that *Fire-Worship*, or *Fire-Discipline* were the settled Alternatives with them; and the latter having been the Lot of our Patriarch, he had certainly perished in it, had not a Miracle been wrought for his deliverance. It was thought necessary he should at least feel the *Vengeance* of that Element, of which he would not acknowledge the Divinity *.

THE Element (I interposed) had some pretence for asserting its own *Apotheosis*. But sure the zeal of *later* Ages for establishments of a *different* Genius greatly exceeds its bounds, when it catches the *red-hot* Spirit of these *Chaldean* Inquisitors; and proceeds to the *Discipline* of Fire, without the previous Ceremony of its *Deification*.

WHAT-

* Pro eo quod legimus, in regione Chaldæorum, (εν τη χώρα των Χαλδαιων) in Hebræo habetur, Ur Chasdim, id est, in igne Chaldæorum. Tradunt autem Hebræi ex hac occasione, istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldæi colunt, et dei auxilio liberatus, de Idololatriæ igne profugerit. Quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse *Tharan* cum sobole sua de regione Chaldæorum: pro eo, quod in Hebræo habetur, de incendio Chaldæorum: quod videlicet, ignem nolens adorare, igne consumtus sit. Vid. Hieron. Tradit. in *Gen.* II. 28, 31.

WHATEVER was the particularity (re-
sumed *Hortensius*) of the Patriarch's Reli-
gion at his departure from the City of his
Nativity; a *farther* reform was, we find,
thought necessary to be made in it, at some
distance of Time from that period; when,
by a special Designation from Heaven for
the Purpose, he was to enter upon the
illustrious Character vouchsafed to him in
Haran of *Mesopotamia*; of being from
thenceforward not only the Head or Father
of a *great* and chosen *Nation*; that of the
Jews, the immediate Descendents of *Abra-*
ham after the Flesh; but of a more honour-
able, however figurative Progeny; of *the*
Faithful to the end of World *. About
two Years after this very important Institu-
tion, we find him driven by distress of a
Famine in *Canaan*, the Country of his ap-
pointed Residence under it during that Inter-
val, into *Egypt* †. The Scripture which
records to us his having sojourned there
upon this occasion, about the space, as is
con-

* *The Law*, according to St. Paul, *Gal* 3. 17.
was 430 Years after the Abrahamic Covenant. The
Law was given A. M. 2513. counting back 430 Years
from hence, we come to 2083, the 75th Year of
Abraham's Life; or the Year of his departure from
Haran; at which time, according to *Rom.* 4. v 5. as
above, he was *justified by Faith*, being *αρεῖος*, ungod-
ly, or an idolatrous Gentile. Compare *Gal.* 3. 8.
with *Gal.* 12. 2, 3.

† *Gen.* 12. 10.

conjectured, of three Months *, makes no mention of his having differed at all from the People of the Land in the matter of Religion. However scrupulous he had not long since been as to the *Urite* Ritual and Liturgy, we have no Intimation given us, but that he was now an intire Conformist to the *Egyptian*. Nor would he, 'tis conceived, have been so well intreated † of the *Pharaoh* in whose Dominions he took refuge, as we are informed he was, upon any other Terms. Unless indeed the Spirit of *Egyptian* Idolatry was far less bigotted than that of *Chaldean*; and that Zeal for national Ceremonies, so powerful in *Egypt* in later Ages, had not as yet begun to operate. An Argument this, in the opinion of a very considerable Writer ‡, that the *Egyptians* were not at the time we are here speaking of materially, if indeed in any degree, corrupted in their public Faith and Worship; since otherwise our Patriarch could neither have conformed to their Establishments with innocence, nor yet in all appearance have dissented from them; consistently with the only motive of his Journey; the obtaining for himself and Household that commodious Subsistence in a foreign

H reign

* See Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 72.

† Gen. 12. 16.

‡ Mr. Shuckford, Vol. I. of Con. Book IV. at large.

reign Land, which the inclemency of the Season would not afford him in his own. Our *Author* concludes therefore, that the *Egyptians* were as yet adherents to the traditional Religion of *Noah*; and Worshipers in common with their patriarchal Sojourner, of the *one true God* *.

THE Scripture (interrupted I) *Hortensius*, is altogether silent in this matter. It neither determines one way, nor the other. From whence, considering the Genius of the *Mosaic* History upon many parallel Occasions, little, I should imagine, can be concluded with certainty for either Side of the question. There is one Circumstance of the Relation to be considered, that seems, if any thing, rather to make against this *Gentleman's* Conclusion; since it may possibly help us to account for the Patriarch's hospitable Reception at the *Egyptian Court*, even allowing him to have been ever so scrupulous a Separatist from the *established Church*. He had with him; we are informed, a *fair Companion* of his Travels, whose Beauty soon drew upon her the Regards of the intriguing *Princes*, or great Officers, of *Pharaoh's* Household; and, upon a report of it from them to their Master, procured the admired Stranger an Admission into his Palace, and an intire accommodation at

* See as above.

at the royal Expence *. In such a situation she must have been Mistress of very little Address, if she could not obtain for herself and Family the privilege of a *Toleration* in a separate Worship and Communion; and the liberty of a private Conscience. Nor did the Patriarch, so far as appears, in the least distrust the Success of so *powerful* an Apologist for his Religion; all his Care seems to have turn'd upon concealing the real nearness of her Relation to his Person. A Discovery of which, he conceived, might subject him to the hazards of Violence from a voluptuous People; and deprive him at the same time both of his Consort and his Life; whereas under the dissembled Character of a *Sister*, instead of the genuine one of a *Wife*, he could securely trust her Vertue amidst the *Intrigues* of a Court, nor risque his own personal Safety amidst the *Licence* of it †. When therefore we are acquainted by the sacred Historian, that he was *well intreated* of *Pharaoh* for the *sake* of his female counterfeited Correlative ‡, might not a *Toleration* of him in a foreign Worship be one instance of this kind Intreatment? And how then will it follow from *Abraham's* being at this time a Servant of the true God, that the native *Egyptians* had

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not

* Gen. 12. 14, 15, 16.

† Gen. 12. v. 11, 12, 13.

‡ Gen. 12. 16.

not before his days apostatized to the Service of false ones?

Tho' I have all imaginable regard (returned *Hortensius*) to the Opinion of the very knowing Writer, whose Sentiments in this Matter I have been reporting to you; I do not indeed see but the Supposition of a Toleration is full as allowable in the Case of *Abraham*, as in that of *Joseph*, a little more than two Centuries later in the *Egyptian* History *, it appears unavoidable. For we have the Authority of the sacred Text itself for thinking *Joseph*, even in the height of his *Egyptian* Advancement; at a time when he not only stood before *Pharaoh*, but had enter'd into an Alliance by Marriage with a Family of the national Priesthood †; to have yet been all the while of a different Religion from that of the Establishment. For in the account given us of his entertaining his Stranger-Brethren, sent by their Father to buy Corn in *Egypt*, in a general Failure of it in their own Land ‡; we are informed, the native *Egyptians*, who were of the Invitation, might not eat Bread with the *Hebrews*; but were accommodated under a separate

* *Abraham* sojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Joseph* was sold into *Egypt* at 17 Years of Age, *Gen.* 37. 2, 28. A. M. 2267. in 13 Years after which, or at 30 Years of Age, He stood before *Pharaoh*, *Gen.* 41. 46. A. M. 2289.

† *Gen.* 41. v. 45, 46.

‡ *Gen.* 43. 1, 2.

separate Oeconomy; the scrupulous Genius of their national Religion, even in these early days, admitting none to a common Table, who were not Partakers of a common Altar *. Our Author notwithstanding is so far from thinking the *Egyptians* to have been actually corrupted in their Religion at the time of *Abraham's* sojourning amongst them, that he makes the Patriarch himself to have been innocently the *occasion* of their first becoming so not long afterwards. This, in his account, was brought about by the artifice of *Suphis*, a Prince of *Memphis*; the tenth in that Government from *Menes*, or *Misraim*, its Founder; who came to the Crown about nine Years before the death of *Abraham*; and above fourscore after his departure from *Egypt* †. The Reputation of our Patriarch for particular Revelations, and a more distinguished Intercourse with Heaven, was at this time, it is supposed, exceeding high with the *Egyptians*. And gave *Suphis* an opportunity to innovate in the Sacra of his Country under the Patronage of so revered an Example. He pretended therefore, in affectation of the patriarchal Fame and Character, to be himself a Θεοπότης; favour'd with a more

* Gen. 43. 32.

† *Abraham* sojourned in *Egypt* A. M. 2086. *Suphis* began his Reign A. M. 2174. or An. *Æræ* Theb. 233. 88 Years after *Abraham's* being in *Egypt*. *Abraham* died in 2183, the ninth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis*.

more intimate access to, and nearer aspect of Divinity. Upon the credit of which, he soon contrived to overturn the hitherto *traditional* Belief and Worship of his Subjects; propagating in its stead a System of his own private Institutions; and insinuating himself by this means into the future supreme Direction of the publick Faith and Conscience *.

THE Pretence, (said I) *Hortensius*, was doubtless a very good one for the Purposes of an intriguing Politician. But methinks I would not readily charge the *Abrahamic* Dispensation with the Odium of giving the first hint to so mischievous an Artifice of Priestcraft. Besides that had the Circumstances of *Abraham's* Life and Character at this time been so well known in *Egypt*, as this account seems to suppose; he must really have been a Politician of no ordinary Genius, who could wrest *such* an Example to the Purposes of a national Idolatry.

THE *Egyptians* (replied *Hortensius*) might possibly have heard of the general Fame of *Abraham's* Revelations, and yet not have been apprized of the particular Subject and Contents of them. - A report thus popularly current, without being accurately examined, might lead *Suphis* into the conceit of this Fallacy, at the same time that it

* See *Shuckford's* Con. Vol. I. Book V. p. 319, and foll.

would not at all interfere either with the Intention, or the Success of it. Abuses of the best Things are, you know, often unavoidable in the natural course of human Liberty. Appointments the most useful in themselves, and the most beneficially intended, are yet open to the grossest Misapplications by the perverse, the falsely-interested, the disingenuous. However, to deal fairly with you, *Philemon*, since I find you are scrupulous of making the Patriarch at all a Party in this Affair; I see not but we may well enough discharge him; and fix the blame, where perhaps it is only due, upon the enterprizing Spirit of the designing *Memphite*. His Θεοπτία, in this view, might possibly be nothing more than the boasted Presence of a more improved Speculation, and profounder Theory, in Subjects of Religion. The Substance of which, in the Opinion of an Author of first regard in the Antiquities of *Egypt*, was the projecting the famed *Symbolical Theology*, and *Emblem-Worship* of this Country *. An *Hypothesis*, which he grounds upon a Passage in the Chronology of the Kings of *This*, answering to about the twentieth

* Sane ex hac Regis (*Suphidis*) Θεοπτία nova in Ægypto Religionum ludibria excogitata sunt; et sacris tradita commentariis. Nam ex *Thinitarum* Synchronismo manifestum est, Bouum, Hircique ἀποθεωσιν eo ipso tempore initium habuisse. *Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 54.

twentieth Year of *Suphis* at *Memphis* ;
 “ That in the Reign of *Ceachos*, the tenth
 “ *Thinite* King, the *Apis* at *Memphis*, *Mnevis*
 “ at *Heliopolis*, and the *Mendesian* Goat,
 “ were received into the number of the
 “ *Egyptian* Gods *.” A discernment in
 this Symbol-Science was ever, (we know,
 esteemed by the *Egyptians* a very high in-
 stance of sacred Wisdom †. And the disco-
 very, or first institution of it, if generally
 ascribed to *Suphis*, would naturally intitle him
 to that honourable Distinction paid to his Me-
 mory in the *Memphite* Records ; “ That he
 “ was a Prince eminent for a more particular
 “ Insight into the Natures of the Gods ‡.”
 He left behind him, we are farther inform-
 ed, a *sacred Book*, or Treatise of divine
 Subjects ; the Elements, we may suppose,
 of this *emblematic* Doctrine, and Animal-
 Apotheosis ||. Which, if it owed its birth to
 the Speculations of this *Memphite* Prince,
 might, before the Age of *Joseph*’s Advancement
 in a neighbour Kingdom, near a Century be-
 low

* Sub hoc, *Apis* in *Memphi*, *Mnevis* in *Heliopoli*,
 et *Mendesius* Caper Dii sunt habiti. *Marsh.* Tab.
 artic. *Ceach*.

† Ὡς περ ἐκ φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς θεοσοφίας ἐπι-
 το σέβας ἐλθεῖν καὶ τῶν ζῶων. Κανθαρου δὲ ἀμαθὴς
 βεδελυχθεῖν αὐτῷ, ἀγνωμῶν ὑπαρχόντων θείων. Αἰγυπ-
 τιοὶ δὲ ἐσεφθίσαν, ὥς εἰκόνα ἡλίου ἐμψυχόν. *Porph.*
de Abst. Lib. 4. Sect. 9.

‡ Οὗτος περὶ ὁποῖας εἰς θεοὺς ἐγένετο. *Syncell.* Chron.
 p. 56.

|| Ἱερὰν συνεγράψε βιβλίον. *Ibid.*

low the Times we are here speaking of, have been sufficiently spread, and improved upon in *Egypt*, to account fully for that religious Distinction in the accommodation of his *Egyptian* and *Hebrew* Guests, observed in his Entertainment above-mentioned *. Nor will the Province here assigned to the Refinements of *Suphis* appear, I think, at all unsuitable to his Genius and Character, when it is remembered, that he is delivered down to us in the Chronology of *Egypt*, as the reputed Founder of the celebrated *great Pyramid* †. An Edifice, whatever other Uses it might be applied to, in its first Intention, there is great Reason to think, of the *Hieroglyphic* kind. The Figure of the *Pyramid* and *Obelisk* in general being, we are assured, in the *Egyptian* manner of Expression, emblematical of the *Nature and Properties of Fire* ‡; as was, I conceive, this

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par-

* *Joseph stood before Pharaoh* A. M. 2289—*Suphis* died A. M. 2237, or 52 Years before *Joseph's* Advancement—*Suphis* reigned 63 Years; beginning to reign A. M. 2174, or according to *Marsham's* Table, An. Ær. Theb. 293—The Worship of the *Apis*, &c. as above, stands recorded pretty early in *Suphis* his Reign; so that it came in, probably, near a Century before *Joseph's* standing before *Pharaoh*.

† *Hic (Suphis) maximam erexit Pyramidem.* *Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 47.*

‡ Πυραμίδας δὲ καὶ ὀβελίσκους τῇ πυρὸς εὐσιᾷ (ἀπενειμάν). *Porph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 60.* The *Egyptian* *Obelisk* at *Alexandria* had not a *Square* Base, like those we see at *Rome*; but an *Hemispherical*

particular Structure, (what I have the pleasure to find confirmed to me, by the Judgement of a late very learned and ingenious Traveller, who had examined it upon the spot). both designed for the *Representation*, and dedicated to the *Idolatry*, of the *chief Fire* of the System, the Sun *. But,
not

spherical one, that was received into a correspondent Cavity in the Pedestal. It is certain, that these Pillars, by being thus rounded at the Bottom, would bear a nearer resemblance to *Darts*, and *missive Weapons*, than if they were square. And consequently would be more *expressive* of the *Rays of the Sun*; which they were supposed to represent; as it was the Sun itself to which they were dedicated. *Shaw's Travels, or Observations, &c. p. 411.* *Trabes ex eo fecere Reges quodam certamine, Obeliscos vocantes; solis numini sacratos. Radium ejus Argumentum in Effigie est. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 36. cap. 8.*

* As the Pyramids, which are Obelisks only in obtuser Angles, were equally emblematical of Fire, so they may be considered under the same religious View, to have been no less consecrated to the same Deity. *Shaw's Travels, as above.*——If *Cheops, Sushis*, or whoever was the Founder of the great Pyramid, intended it only for his Sepulchre, what Occasion was there for such a narrow crooked Entrance into it? For the Well, as it is called, at the end of the Entrance? For the lower Chamber, with a large Nitch or Hole in the eastern Wall of it? For the long narrow Cavities in the Wall of the upper Room? Or for the two Anti-Chambers, and the lofty Gallery, with Benches on each Side, that introduce us into it? As the whole of the *Egyptian Theology* was cloathed in mysterious Emblems and Figures, it seems reasonable to suppose, that all these
Turnings,

not to amuse you any longer, *Philemon*, with Conjectures, either as to the *Æra*, or Authors of the *Egyptian* Idolatry; it will be more to our Purpose to turn our Inquiry to the general *Theory*, *Genius*, and *Constitution* of it. Nor can we, I believe, here set out with a better Guide, than the knowing and inquisitive *Sicilian*, *Diodorus*; who in the first Book of his general History has represented to us the Sentiments of the earlier *Egyptians* upon the Matter of Religion, to effect, as follows—"The first Men, who
 " had their rise in *Egypt*, true born Sons
 " of their Mother Earth, surveying the
 I 2 " State

Turnings, Apartments, and Secrets in Architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose; (for the Catacombs are plain vaulted Chambers hewn out of the Rock) and that the Deity rather, who was *typified* in the *outward Form* of this Pile, was to be worshipped *within*. The great Reverence and Regard which *Suphis*, one of the reputed Founders is said to have paid to the Gods, will, perhaps, in the first Place, not a little favour such a Supposition. Yet even if this at last should not be granted, no Places certainly could have been more ingeniously contrived for the *Adyta*, that had so great a Share in the *Egyptian* Mysteries. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 417, 418. And indeed I am apt to think, that there are few, who attentively consider the outward Figure of these Piles; the Structure and Contrivance of the several Apartments in the inside of the greatest, together with the ample Provision that was made on each side of it for the Reception, as may be supposed, of the Priests; but will conclude, that the *Egyptians* intended the latter for one of the Places, as all of them were to be the Objects at least, of their Worship and Devotion. *Shaw's Travels*, p. 420.

“ State of the World about them, and con-
 “ templating, not without a secret Awe,
 “ and Reverence, the Contents of the won-
 “ derful Machine, concluded for the Divi-
 “ nity of the two most considerable, and
 “ commanding Appearances of it, the Sun,
 “ and Moon. These, they conceived,
 “ were the great Principles of Life and Be-
 “ ing; the dispensing, and sustaining Pow-
 “ ers of the intire System *.” A Conclu-
 sion so natural to such early and unexpe-
 rienced Reasoners as are here supposed, that
 you have been driven, you know, to the
 Hypothesis of a Miracle to prevent their
 making it. But whatever was the effect of
 original Revelation in first establishing a right
 Religion, subsequent Tradition was by no
 means sufficient to perpetuate and maintain it
 in the World. For before the times we are
 now arrived at in the course of this Speculation,
 Mankind had almost universally broke their
 guard; and, as if wholly loose and uncau-
 tioned in the point, were with very little ex-
 ception, running as greedily into the Infatu-
 ation

* Τους δὲ οὖν κατ’ Αἰγυπτίου ἀνθρώπους το παλαιον
 γενομενους, ἀναβλεψαντας εἰς του κοσμου, και την των
 ὁλων φύσιν καταπλαγεντας, και θαυμασαντας, ὑπο-
 λαβειν εἶναι δυο θεους αἰδιους τε και πρωτους, τοντε
 ἥλιον, και την σελήνην—τουτους δὲ τους θεους ὑφίσταν-
 ται τον συμπαντα κοσμον διοικειν, τρεφοντας και αυξου-
 ντας παντα· και δια τουτων παντα γενασθαι και τρεφισθαι.
 Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 10, 11. Ed. Rhod.

ation of *Sabiism*, or the Idolatry of the bright Host of Heaven; as if in the infant Simplicity, and ignorant Admiration of a rising World, they were now first opening their Eyes upon the affecting Spectacle. The *Egyptians*, we may conceive, were the more easily seduced to the *Worship* of the heavenly Bodies, as by the nature of their Climate, and circumstances of their Situation, they seemed to have enjoyed a more uninterrupted and advantageous *Display* of them, than their neighbour Nations *. They led moreover in earlier times, for the most part, 'tis probable, a rural and much exposed Life. And, in the imperfection of their Astronomy, having for many Centuries no true measure of a solar Year †, were obliged to

* *Ægyptii in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terrâ nihil emineret quod contemplationi cæli officere posset omnem curam in fiderum cognitione posuerunt. Cic. de Div. lib. 1. cap. 41, Ed. Davies——Nam, ut recte de his (Ægyptiis) Lactantius Firmianus, cum cælo fruerentur sereno, otio ad hæc, et deliciis, quibus universa Ægyptiorum Tellus scatebat, torpescerent, decoram cæli faciem, cum reliquo stellarum ordinatissimo exercitu considerantes, &c. Kirch. Ob. Pamph. p. 157—Ο.δὲ Θεῶν Φασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτοις Φιλοσοφίαν τε εὐρησθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἀστρολογίαν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς συνεργούσης πρὸς τὸ τηλαυγέστερον ὄραϊν τὰς ἐπιτολάς τε καὶ ὀψεις τῶν ἀστέρων. Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 46.*

† The *Egyptians* ascribe the Correction of their Year to *Mercury*. Ανατιθέασι δὲ τῷ Ἑρμῇ πᾶσαν

to estimate the Returns of their Seasons, and
adjust the varying expediences of Husbandry,
and

την τοιαυτην σοφίαν. Strab. Geog. lib. 17. p. 816.

This *Mercury* was undoubtedly *Siphoas*, thirty-fifth King of *Egyptian Thebes*; who, from parallel Circumstances in his History and Character to those of *Tautus*, *Thoth*, or *Mercury* the Son of *Menes*, or *Misraim*, obtained this Name. *Syncellus* records the Addition of the five Days to have been made to the *Egyptian Year* by *Affis*, sixth King of *Tanis*, or the lower *Egypt*. ΟΥΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΘΗΚΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕ

ΕΠΑΓΟΜΕΝΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΩΣ ΦΑΣΙΝ, ΕΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΕΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ Ο ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΚΟΣ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ. ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΜΟΝΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ.

Chron. p. 125. But this *Affis* being one of the Pastor Kings, who were, in *Josephus* his account, ανθρωποι το γένος ασημοι, an obscure ignoble Race; Sir *John Marsham* very reasonably conjectures, that *Syncellus*, in remarking, as above, to this King's Name, means only to fix the Correction of the Year to the Time, not to the Person of *Affis*. Which agrees very well with what has been already said of its being really introduced by *Siphoas*, or the second *Mercury*—Chronologiæ nostræ competit id quod *Georgius Syncellus* Sexto Tanitarum Regi subjicit. ΟΥΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΘΗΚΕ κ.τ.λ.

In postrema hujus Regis tempora initia Mercurii incidunt; ita ut huic ille sit satis æqualis. Can. Chron. p. 235. The five Days then were added in the 34th Year of *Affis*, the sixth Pastor King of the lower *Egypt*. The most probable Time of the Irruption of the Pastors is the Year of the World 2420. About 209 Years from hence by Sir *John Marsham's* Table began the Reign of *Affis*. Whose 34th Year is therefore the 243d from the Pastor Invasion; or the Year of the World 2663. This was 720 Years from the Time of *Menes* his Death, who first peopled *Egypt*, and founded the *Theban* Government. And in about 15 Years from hence, began *Siphoas* to reign at *Thebes*.

So

and Agriculture, by looking constantly up to these fair Deceivers ; and remarking, as
accu-

So that the Correction might very easily belong to him. *Siphoas* began to reign near a Century after *Joshua's* Death ; who died in 2578. The *Egyptian* Year was not corrected 'till above fourscore Years after the Death of *Joshua*. 'Tis remarkable that *Herodotus* speaking of the corrected Measure of the *Egyptian* Year, mentions only an Addition of five Days, to the number 360, without any Intimation of a quarter Part of a Day more being to be added to the reckoning ; whereas *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* both mention the fix Hours ; which shews they were a later Improvement than the five Days. Αἰγυπτιοὶ δὲ τριηκοντημεροὺς ἀγοῦ-
τες τοὺς δώδεκά μηνὰς ἐπαγοῦσι ἀναπᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέ-
ρας παρὲξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 4. and indeed the Fable in *Plutarch*, which relates to this Matter, supposes *five Days* the exact *seventy-second* Part of the Year ; as it is of 365 Days, without the quarter of a Day over. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ μῦθος οὗτος ἐν ἑραχιδ-
τατοῖς, ὡς ἐνεστὶ, μαλιστα. Τῆς Ρῆας, Φάσι, κρυφα-
τῷ Κρονῷ συγγενομένης, αἰσθόμενον ἐπαρᾶσθαι τοῦ ἡλίου
αὕτη μῆτε μῆνι μῆτε ἐνιαυτῷ τεκεῖν. Ἐρωτᾷ δὲ τοῦ
Ἑρμῆν τῆς Θεοῦ συνελθεῖν. Εἶτα παίξαντα πεπτικᾷ
πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, καὶ ἀφελόντα τῶν φωτῶν ἐκαστοῦ το
ἐξδομέκον, ἐκ πάντων ἡμέρας πέντε συνελθεῖν, καὶ
ταῖς ἐξηκόντα καὶ τριακοσίοις ἐπαγεῖν, ἃς νῦν ἐπαγο-
μενᾶς Αἰγυπτιοὶ καλοῦσι. Plut. de Iside, et Osiride,
p. 355. Ed. Xyl. 'Tis probable some general Report
of the *Egyptians* having corrected their Year prevailed
in *Greece*, before the true State of the Fact came to be
known there, by means of *Thales* his intercourse with
the *Egyptian* Priests ; as we learn from *Diogenes Laer-
tius*. Τὰς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Φάσιν, αὐτοῦ εὐρεῖν,
καὶ εἰς τριακοσίας ἐξηκόντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν. Οὐ-
δεὶς τε αὐτοῦ καθήγησατο, πλὴν ὅτ' εἰς Αἰγύπτου ἐλθὼν
τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιετριψεν. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. p. 7.
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accurately as they could, the diversified particularities of their Relations and Aspects*. This

in Thalete.——For *Herodotus* represents *Solon* a contemporary with *Thales*, in a Conference with *Cræsus*, to have considered the true solar Year as consisting of 375 Days. For he says it was necessary to intercalate every other Year a whole Month, or 30 Days, Consequently the common Reckoning of 360 Days must have been 15 instead of 5 Days, short of Truth. *Solon*, it should seem, was aware the common Reckoning was wrong; but was not Master of the precise Reformation required in it. The Conversation is very remarkable. In the Conclusion of it *Solon* reckons up to *Cræsus* the sum of Days in seventy Years to be 26250, which is at the Rate of 375 Days to each Year. The Computation is made by way of answer to *Cræsus* his very hasty and resentful Expostulation with the Sage upon his seeming to have but a degrading Opinion of *Cræsus* his Happiness. Ω ξεινε Αθηναίαι, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα εὐδαιμονία οὕτω τοι ἀπερίπται ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέρας ἐποίησας; upon which *Solon* lays before him the Measure in Days of human Life at an Estimate of seventy Years——τοῦτον τῶν ἀπάσεων ἡμερῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδόμηκοντα ἑταρ εἴσεων πεντήκοντα καὶ διήκοσιον καὶ ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων, ἡ ἕτερη αὐτῶν τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παραπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοίον προσάγει πηγάμα. In which length of time, and variety of Events, 'tis impossible, he concludes, to determine rightly upon the Subject of a Man's Happiness, 'till the whole date is run out. *Herod. lib. 1. cap. 32. Ed. Steph.*

* Cum veterum annus parum cum motu solis apparente congruebat, ex dato die mensis quo factum aliquod notabant non statim exinde patebat quâ anni tempestate illud evenit. Igitur quando Agricolæ in Re Rustica aliquod faciendum in statò tempore præcipiebant, tempus illud non per diem Kalendarii civilis indicabant; quippe eadem dies mensis non semper quolibet

This gave them high impressions of the Dignity of these Objects in the mundane Constitution; and their importance to the Oeconomy of Life. Which would be still increased, by observing as to the principal of them in particular, the Sun, how intirely the regular, prosperous, and flourishing Estate of all inferior Nature seemed to depend upon his dispensing Authority, and genial Influence. How the unnumber'd varieties of vegetative Being, the several Species of Herbs, Grain, Plants, Flowers, Trees, and Fruits; at once the Ornaments of the Earth's *own Form*, and Support of *those* of its animated Inhabitants; were the effects of his prolific Virtue, and secret Operation, upon the differing *contents* of her internal Substance. That the whole Scenery of the Universe—But I forbear, *Philemon*, considering that you have been before-hand with me upon this Argument; and have made any thing I could say here as comparatively weak and degrading; as it is fortunately at the same time made superfluous and unnecessary.

I WOULD very gladly (returned I) *Hortensius*, exchange your Compliment for your Description. Tho', to say the truth, by

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quolibet anno in eodem anni tempore incidebat. Sed certioribus opus fuit Characteribus ad tempora distinguenda. Itaque Agricolaë tempora per ortus et occasus stellarum distinguebant. *Keil. Astron. p. 264.*

the slight hint you have here given, you have recalled to my thoughts an Image, which must have pleaded so strongly with our *Egyptian* Ruralists for a *direct*, and *unqualified* Adoration of the solar Orb ; as in great measure to preclude the Apology I was thinking to have made for their first addresses to it of a religious kind ; by suggesting, that possibly nothing more might be intended by them, than the Worship of the *transcendent* Majesty of the invisible Creator, under the *Symbol* of his most *excellent*, and seemingly nearest resembling Creature. They might the readier err this way, if they had yet subsisting amongst them some *imperfect* Tradition of the *divine* Being's having vouchsafed to converse with, and instruct the Men of elder Times, by an *Angel*, a *Glory*, some visible *Exhibition* of his more distinguished Presence. A manner of Communication, which the sacred Accounts seem, I think, to suppose ; and which might be very suitable to the Condition of the more early Ages, however generally discontinued in succeeding ones. I pretend not, with some modern Visionaries, to assert any thing of the *precise* Form of these Appearances ; or to enter into a disquisition of the Nature, and mystical Intentments, of the *Paradisiacal Cherubim* *.

The

* See a very ingenious Treatise upon the Principles
of

The Fact in general is all I am concerned for. Of which, if Mankind, the bulk of them, had now by degrees, either thro' negligence, or dispersions, lost all correct Accounts; retaining still a *confused* Tradition of Manifestations of *Divinity* made to their Fore-fathers *under*, and Worship practised by them *towards*, a *sensible* Presence; might not this lead them into an opinion of the lawfulness and expediency of religious *Symbols* in general? Of having before their Eyes some visible Object of Adoration; something to strike the Attention, and ingage the Sense of the devout Worshipper? Now this Point once fixed, nothing in Nature surely so proper for the *Purpose*, so every way worthy of the *Distinction* required; as the significant Luminaries of Heaven: The two *greater Lights* of it in particular; in some Views of which, the most *chastised* Philosophy of these *colder* northern Climes, can scarce forbear breaking out into unhallowed Reverence. Consecrated thus speciously to the Imagery and Representation of their Maker, they soon, no doubt, became the Rivals of his Honours; and by a gradation as natural, as it has been common

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of the late Mr. *Hutchinson*, intitled, *Christianity almost as old as the Creation*. It must be owned, this Author has at least made Mr. *Hutchinson's* Scheme intelligible: And has shewn he has no want of any thing, as a Writer, but a more reasonable and better Cause.

in the Case, from being applied to at first as *Helps* only to Devotion, were quickly afterwards advanced into the *supreme Objects* of it.

I WILL not answer, (replied *Hortensius*) how far any such *misconstrued Tradition* as you have been pleading for, might contribute to the Introduction of these first-practised Idolatries; but I am very sure, the popular Artifices of an *accommodating Philosophy*, devised in its excuse and vindication by the more forward Masters in *religious Politics*, did very much to its support, and growing Interest in the World. The importance in general of *some Religion* to the Purposes of Society and Government, could not but strike the most unpractised Thinker. Whilst more improved Reflection would be apt to suspect the Hopelessness, and Policy to suggest the inexpediency, of an Attempt to retain the Bulk of Mankind in a perfectly *rational One*. The wisest would find it *extremely difficult*; to the Vulgar it might be presumed little short of *impossible*; to raise their *Thoughts* above their *Senses*; or to any requisite degree *conceive*, what they were not at liberty to *imagine* *. Hence that favorite Doctrine in all learned Paganism;

* *Permolestum enim compluribus videbatur, Intellectu tantummodo Deum pervestigare, non etiam visu usurpare. Kirch. Ob. Pam. p. 159.*

nism ; no where more so, than, where it was probably first contrived, in *Egypt* ; of Divinity, as it were, *partially imbodied* ; and made visible to outward View, in the varied Species of its own Workmanship *. A Doctrine, I am inclined to suspect, which the inticed Weakness of popular Simplicity first

* This is what the *Stoic* in *Cicero's* second Book of the Nature of the Gods, expresses by *Tracta ratio a Physicis Rebus ad commenticios et fictos Deos*. Which however open to Abuse in the popular and fabulous way of treating it ; as when the Masters of this Theology, to explain the Powers and Passions of the Universe, talk of the *Formas Deorum, et Ætates, et Vestitus, Ornatusque* ; genera præterea, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ ; nam et perturbatis animis inducuntur ; accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, ægritudines, iracundias ; nec vero, ut *Fabulæ* ferunt, *Di bellis præliisque caruerunt* : yet was capable of a very good Meaning, when considered as expressing, *Deum pertinentem per naturam cujusque rei ; per terras Cererem, per maria Neptunum ; alios per alia : qui, qualesque sunt, quoque eos nomine consuetudo nuncupaverit, venerari, et colere debemus.* *De Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 28.* The Pagans seemed to apprehend a kind of necessity of worshipping God thus *in his Works, and in the visible Things of this World* ; because the generality of the Vulgar were then unable to frame any Notion of an invisible Deity ; and, unless they were detained in a way of Religion by such a Worship of God, as was accommodate and suitable to the lowness of their Apprehensions, would unavoidably run into Atheism. Nay, the most philosophical Wits amongst them, confessing God to be incomprehensible to them, seemed themselves also to stand in need of some *sensible* Props to lean upon. *Cudworth's Intel. System, chap. 4. p. 510.*

first recommended to the Adoption of *philosophic* System; and Men were *practically* convicted of, before they were taught *speculatively* to entertain. The Bias of the *many* drew strongly, we may imagine, towards a sensible Object of devout Worship; a Deity accommodated to their Apprehension; and indulged to their View. A *striking* Presence was of singular Efficacy in suggesting to them a *divine* one *. And when by this means the *actual* Idolatry of the Sun and Moon was growing into an *Usage*, the Learning of the Times soon set itself to work to authorize it as an *Establishment*; under pretence, that the Benefits of Providence dispensed to Mankind by the Means of these *important* Luminaries, could not be better acknowledged, than by a Devotion to their immediate Beam. The several Qualities and Powers of which being only so many *Derivations* from the *first Cause*, the Worship of them was in truth no *other*, than the Worship of *that Cause* under a particular Consideration of its Agency and Effect †.

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* Cum Solem in medio veluti vivificum mundi Oculum, ac harmonici ordinis Choragum, immortalem illum Jovem virtutis suæ sigillo Univerſa temperantem conſpicerent, (Ægyptii) eum aliquid ſupra naturam excellentius, nimirum το Θεον, quod virtute ſua omnia moveat, mota diſtinguat, diſtincta ornet, calore veluti amore quodam ſympathetico diſtincta uniat, arbitrati ſunt. Kirch. Ob. Pam. p. 157.

† The Truth of this whole Buſineſs ſeems to be this;

The Plea was artfully calculated ; at once to humour the Inclination, and palliate, as it might seem, in some degree, the absurdity of popular Thinking. Whilst, in this way of Reasoning, new Forms of Worship were continually arising ; and *Deity* became every Day more and more easy, both of Comprehension, and Access *. For the

Sun, this ; That the ancient Pagans did physiologize in their Theology ; and, whether looking upon the whole World animated, as the supreme God ; and consequently the several Parts of it as his living Members ; or else apprehending it at least to be a *Mirror*, or visible Image of the invisible Deity, and consequently *all its several Parts, and Things of Nature*, but as so many several Manifestations of the divine Power and Providence ; they pretended, that all their Devotion towards the Deity ought not to be huddled up in one general confused Acknowledgment of a supreme invisible Being, the Creator and Governor of all ; but that all the *several Manifestations* of the Deity in the World, considered *singly, and apart by themselves*, should be so many *distinct Objects* of their devout Veneration. *Cudworth's Intell. Syst. p. 228.*

* By means of what the last cited very learned Author calls, “ Breaking or crumbling as it were
“ of the simple Deity ; and parcelling out of the
“ same into many particular Notions and partial Con-
“ siderations, according to the various Manifestations
“ of its Power and Providence.” *p. 531.*——It is not improbable, what our Author observes, *p. 309.* That the Inscription mentioned by *Plutarch* to the Goddess *Neith*, or *Minerva* at *Sais* in *Egypt*——
Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, και ου, και εσομενον, και του εμου πεπλου ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν. *De Iside et Osir. p. 354*——might be intended to express the “ Mind or Wisdom of the Deity diffusing
“ itself

Sun, and Moon once conceived of, as the
visible Exhibitions of Divinity in the System,
 the

“ itself thro’ all Things ; or the Perfections of God
 “ made visible in the several Manifestations of his
 “ Power, Wisdom, and Goodness in the material
 “ Universe. And that the Veil here said to be
 “ thrown over this Goddess might be a Symbol of
 “ the more *recondite*, and *arcane Theology* of the *E-*
 “ *gyptians* ; which considered this as a *simple Principle*,
 “ or Attribute of the Deity ; tho’ for the Ease of
 “ vulgar Conception considered thus partially in its
 “ Effects.” And this may give us the ground of the
Orphic Doctrine amongst the Greeks of the, *Ἐν τι τοῖς*
παντα. The *Hermaic* Books, ’tis more than proba-
 ble, by whomsoever forged, are in the main formed
 upon the Principles of the ancient *Hermetic*, or *Tris-*
megistic Theology, preserved in traditional Memory
 in *Egypt*, and in the Rituals of her popular Supersti-
 tion. And these Books are full of this Doctrine.
 From their being the late Forgeries of *Pythagorean*, or
Platonic Sophists, and full of the Characters of these
 Sects of Philosophy, it will not be evinced, that they are
 of a Genius intirely different from the ancient *Egyp-*
tian one ; seeing the Founders of both these Sects bor-
 rowed the main Principles of their Philosophy from
Egypt ; as did the *Greeks* in general all their Learning.
 So that as *Jamblichus* observes (and *Cudworth* ap-
 proves the Observation) they may περιεχειν Ἑρμαϊκὰς
 δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν γλωττῇ πολλὰ κί-
 χηται. — For in the Language of the incomparably
 ingenious, and entertaining Author of the *Archæolog.*
Phil. lib. i. p. 77. 4to. *Revera quæ fuerint Ægypti-*
tiorum Dogmata, et quid alios docuerint, ab eorum
 discipulis, Philosophis *Græcis*, rescindendum esse vide-
 tur ; qui ut notum est, *Ægyptum* petere solebant ad
 adipiscendas literas altiores — and elsewhere, Non
 aliunde repetenda est sapientia *Ægyptiorum*, quam ab
 eorum Discipulis, Philosophis *Græcis*, idque potissi-
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the several inferior Orders of celestial Lights, of which it was obvious to think, that they were in general of the same Nature with, and Partakers in degree of the several Powers and Virtues of, the superior ones; would soon demand in their Place and Proportion a like *honourable* Consideration. At the same Time that, their number not admitting separate Applications, and Philosophy, 'tis probable; not as yet sufficiently entering into their particular Distinctions, to appoint them particular Services; they could not well be otherwise adored, than either *inclusively* in their *Principals*; or else *in Sum*, as it were, *together with them*; by way of *comprehensive* Address to that magnificent *Concave*, in which both were alike seemingly disposed. Such, *Philemon*, I take to have been the original Idolatry of the World. Whether *Egypt*, or *Chaldea*, were properly the Authors of it, would, I am sure, be a fruitless, and is, I conceive, a very needless Disquisition. Both of them, we are certain, before the Times we are now arrived at, were notoriously guilty in the kind; and from them the Practice was too soon propagated to all the various Dispersions of Mankind.

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mum ab *antiquissimis*; nempe *Orphicis*, *Ionis*, *Pythagoricis*, *Platonicisque*. Patrum imagines in filiis et nepotibus intuemur. Et ab his Alumnis Disciplinae *Aegyptiacae* ipsius effigiem qualitercunque licet depingere vel adumbrare. Ibid. p. 99.

OF this sort (I interposed) was, I imagine, *Hortensius*, the greatest Part of those Idolatries mentioned in the earlier Scriptures; to have been practised so universally, wherever the *Jewish* People had any Communication. And to which, we find, even the *chosen Seed* themselves had such an untoward Propension, that not all the Policy of a divinely suggested Discipline for the Purpose, exercised upon them for a succession of forty Years, would, in the opinion of their wise and provident Legislator, a little before his Death, prove a sufficient check upon them in this Regard: But, even in possession of Promises, whose very *Tenure* was a *total Forbearance* in this kind, they would yet, he very justly suspected, be here perpetually transgressing; and in despite of the most affecting Mementos both in their History, and Ordinances, of Power *superior* to the *Heavens*, would be tempted by the momentary Argument of a single *Glance* to compliment them ever and anon with supreme*; mistaking

* Deut. 4. v. 15, 19. Take good heed, (says Moses, to Israel) lest thou lift up thine Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou seest the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided (or as the marginal Reading has it, imparted) unto all Nations under the whole Heaven. Ne forte elevas oculos tuos in cælos, et videas Solem, et Lunam, atque stellas, cum universo exercitu cælorum, et Impulsus adores atque colas ea.

mistaking these useful *Instruments* of divine *Providence*, for the *exhibited Splendors* of divine *Majesty*. So much, it should seem, was this the prevailing Doctrine, and general Infatuation of these Times.

I AM afraid, (replied *Hortensius*) the Idolatry of this Age did not by any means stop here; as you will find in the sequel of our Inquiry. But a part of it this undoubtedly was; and *one* moreover, as appears from our *sacred* Accounts themselves, of by no means recent Establishment. For in the Book of *Job*, (who lived, 'tis probable, some Centuries before the *Æra* of that Passage of *Moses's* History you have been hinting at *) where the illustrious *Sufferer* is introduced, as appealing to the Sentence of Heaven itself for the general Integrity of his Character; his innocence as to the particular Corruption of *Sabiiism* as an impiety exceeding common in his time, is *distinctly* insisted on: The very Ceremony of its Practice, namely that of *Adoration*, or the Idolater's applying his Hand to his Mouth, in token of his religious Reverence to the heavenly Luminaries, being particularly pointed out to us: And the true *Atheistic* Construction of it in all Reason, and sober Consequence, at the same time very remark-

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* He was probably contemporary with the Patriarch *Isaac*.

ably asserted ; in opposition, no doubt, to all such unavailing Refinements, as we have above supposed (and are here, I think, authorized to suppose) the politic Learning of accommodating Hierarchs, or Statesmen, had propagated in its Apology, and Incouragement *. When by these means however, as has been said, the Idolatry of the Heavens was become generally authorized ; the next Step in the Progress of Apotheosis, was, I imagine, for Reasons above occasionally hinted to you, the Consecration of artificial, or common *Fire* †. This, 'twas obvious to think, was both an immediate Communication from, and most expressive, as well as permanent Symbol of the *Sidereal* Splendors. But its chief Recommendation was, its proceeding yet a Degree lower in the levelling Scheme of popular Divinity ; and bringing down the *Gods*, as it were, to the Earth ; to the very Habitation, Familiarity, and, in some measure, the good Offices, of their Worshipers ‡.

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* Si vidi Solem, quando splendebat, et Lunam incedentem clarè, et seduxit sese, (aliter) Lætatum est, in abscondito cor meum, et osculatum est manum meam os meum, etiam hoc fuisset iniquitas judicata ; quia Abnegassem Deum Desuper. *Job*, lib. i. cap. 31. 26, 27, 28.

† Ταῦταίς γὰρ (τοῖς φαῖνομένοις οὐρανοῖς θεοῖς) καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀθανάτου φυλάττομεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οὐ μαλίστα αὐτοῖς ὁμοιωτάτον. Porph. de Abst. lib. 2. p. 53.

‡ Vulcani claudicatio, says a learned Writer, notat

I AM afraid (said I) it was bringing them a good deal *nearer* in effect, than they had any reason to desire to be brought. For so striking an Object as the *sacred* Fire once placed before Men's Eyes, as a direct Dispersal from the *celestial*; and so *commodiously* withal for their religious Applications; 'twas but to compliment the *Substitute*, (what Sense and Imagination would very readily come into) with being too *faithful* to the Honors of its *Principals*, ever to think of intercepting them, however *unguarded* in their Passage; and thus, that uneasy Check upon all zealous Devotion, a *conscious Reservation* in the exercise of it, might soon be thrown off, as a Restraint not more inconvenient, than really unnecessary in the Case: And the Mind, with the Eye, would be at the trouble of looking no farther, than to the immediate *Exhibition*, and nearest *Species*.

AND if the Substitute in this Instance, (resumed *Hortensius*) did thus easily insinuate itself into the Honours of its Principals; it had at least their *own Example* to plead in its excuse; they having before, by a like artifice, dispossessed of all religious Regard and
Reverence

tat ignis nostri imperfectionem. As fanciful as the Analogy here may be thought, the Fact will not be disputed, that, Nisi ligna ac materiem apposueris, perbreui tempore extinguitur. *Voss. de Orig. &c. lib. 2. p. 659.*

Reverence the only just Object of any: And, under colour of assisting Men to a readier contemplation and service of their Maker, well nigh banished him from among them. For thus indeed stood the Matter with our *Egyptian* Speculatists; that, from the times we are now speaking of, being ever at work to exhibit *Deity* to the Multitude in new *Forms* of its *Effects*, they by degrees quite confounded it with them. At least to vulgar Apprehension; to which *God*, and *Nature*, soon became the very same Idea*; and the World, which ought only to have been regarded, as the magnificent *Theatre* of *divine Perfections*, was itself *blasphemously* adored, as the *independent Proprietor* of them. The Doctrine of Visible-Apotheosis once believed in *Egypt*; and all Sense and Observation agreeing to direct her, for the *first Examples* in the kind, to the heavenly Regions; the Residence, 'twas obvious to imagine, of the chief *active Powers* of the System; the necessity of *some* convenient *Receptacle* for the celestial Influences, and *Subjeſt* of their *genial Agency* and Operation; and the manifest Accommodation in Nature of the *Earth* for this Purpose; in the Progress of her *levelling Theology*,

* They were in the Error mentioned by *Plutarch*; and did, ἰσῖα καὶ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγκυρὰν ἡγεῖσθαι κυβερνῆτην, καὶ νηματα καὶ κροκάς ἰφάρτην, καὶ σπονδείου καὶ μελικράτου, ἢ πτισσῶν ἰατρον. De Iside, Ἑc. p. 377.

logy, soon drew down her Attention, and her Homage, to this great *passive Substance*; as to the next *chief Interest* in the *mundane Oeconomy* *. She accordingly considered the Heavens, and the Earth, under the relative Characters of *Male* and *Female* †. A Relation, which her Masters of the *Mythologic Prosopopœa* expressed, we may suppose, by giving them in Marriage to each other: Since from hence, 'tis highly probable, the *Greek*, and *Roman* Theogonists, learnt to do so, under the Titles corresponding in their respective Languages to their original *Egyptian* ones; of Οὐρανός, and Γη, or *Cælus*, and *Tellus*; the Parents of Κρονός, *Saturn*, or the whole *regular Oeconomy* of the visible World ‡.

T H E

* Ex Elementis ante alia, ut arbitror, Tellus divinos obtinuit honores. Idque laxè eâ voce acceptâ, ut signat hunc globum terræ et aquæ, qui opponitur cælesti, hoc est Æthereo et Aereo Corpori——Nec mirum, si ab Æthereis corporibus prolapsi etiam sint ad cultum Telluris: quando post cælos ea princeps est mundi Pars. Etiam uti in cælis sol et sidera, continuo se ingerunt in sensus: ita in partibus mundi inferioribus primo oculis et corporis et mentis, Telluris se bona offerebant. *Voss. de Orig. &c. lib. 2. cap. 51.*

† Denique prope omnium ea est veterum opinio Terram esse antiquam matrem, quam cælo nuptam dixere, quia ut in rerum generatione cælum refert marem; sic in eâdem Tellus esset alina Mater. *Voss. ub. sup.*——Principes Dei Cælum et Terra. *Varro. 4. de L. L.*

‡ Saturnus quem Cælu' genit. *Ennius. 1. Annal.* Saturnus ipse——cum tradatur ordo Elementorum,

THE Relation, (said I) seems in some measure to have been approved by the sacred *Cosmogonist* himself; who in entring upon the important Transaction of Creation; or a Universe rising into Being at the efficacious *Fiat* of its Maker; gives us his first general *Picture* of it, under the two comprehensive Distinctions, of *Heaven*, and *Earth* *. Does not this Agreement in the *Jewish*, and *Egyptian* Physiology of this matter, incline one to think, they were both derived from one common Stock of original Tradition in the Point? tho' the latter had fraudulently sunk one main Article of the primitive Account, in accommodation, as you have observed, to popular Prejudice; or as finding it, perhaps, agreeable to the Sentiments of a corrupt religious Policy, to conceal *one* Part of the Truth, in order to a more convenient Application of the *other* †.

THE
rum, temporum Numerositate distinctus, luce patefactus. *Macrob. Sat. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

* Imo Deus die primâ fecisse dicitur Cælum et Terram, ut plane his debeatur principatus—Cæli ac Terræ nominibus etiam in sacris literis rerum intelligitur universitas. *Voss. de Orig. &c. lib. 2. cap. 51. Gen. 1. 1.*

† In the beginning God created the Heaven, and the Earth. *Gen. 1. 1.* They failed in common with the earlier *Grecian* Theologers in a very important Article, of which *Anaxagoras* is said to have been the first Restorer. Οὗτος δὲ πρῶτος διηθροῦσε τὸν περὶ ἀρχῶν λόγον· οὐ γὰρ μόνου περὶ τῆς πάντων οὐσίας

THE obvious appearance of the Thing itself, (returned *Hortensius*) may, I think, fully account for the Distinction supposed, without any Intimation from a Tradition on its behalf. I am sensible, some more recondite Articles of the *Egyptian* Physics, as particularly, their early acquaintance with the true System of the World, could be no other than *πατροπαράδοτα*; Doctrines of Inheritance; whose Age, and Authorities were, it may be, equally obscure. Inasmuch as, the national *Acumen* in Matters of more elaborate Physical Research, was by no means equal to the Discovery of them. But for an accurate Observation of, and Familiarity with, the more obvious *Phænomena* of Nature, exclusively of any nice Disquisition of the remoter *Causes* of them; the *Egyptians* were at all times exceedingly remarkable: as, probably, for other Reasons that might be mentioned; so especially upon a religious Account; both the *Theory* and *Services* of their Worship obliging them to a very regular Diligence in this kind. We have already, *Philemon*, (continued he) attended them in the Course of their Physiological Theology to the *Apotheosis* of the two great *Instruments* of all natural Generation; the operative Influences of the *Heavens*, and the pas-

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ἀπεφηνάτο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινου-
τος αὐτὴν αἰτίου. Euseb. præp. lib. 10. cap. ult.

five Subject of them, or gross *terrestrial* Mass. From whence, in their Doctrine of honoring Causes in their Effects, they were easily led to *deify* the *Issue* of this important *Congress*; Κρονος, *Saturn*, the το παν, or collective *Contents*, and *Apparatus* of the intire *mundane* Machine; as the next Article of their increasing Polytheism *. But the Object here, taken at large, being of somewhat difficult Comprehension, and a Consideration of it in *Parts*, not only confirming its *general* Divinity, but even multiplying, as well as greatly assisting the particular Offices of its Worship; 'twas soon agreed, to branch it out, for the convenience both of common Conception, and Address, into the several more considerable *Divisions*, *Members*, or constituent *Principles*, of which it was esteemed to be composed. And thus we come to those five primary Articles of the intire natural Compages, or Ingredients of

* Hunc (*Saturnum*) aiunt abscidisse *Cæli* Patris pudenda—Cum Semina rerum omnium post cælum gignendarum de cælo fluere; et elementa universa, quæ mundo plenitudinem facerent, ex illis Seminibus funderentur; ubi Mundus omnibus suis partibus membrisque perfectus est, certo jam tempore finis factus est procedendi de cælo semina ad elementorum conceptionem; quippe quæ jam plena fuerant Procreata—Propter abscissorum pudendorum fabulam, etiam nostri eum *Saturnum* vocitarunt: παρατην·σαθην, quod membrum virile declarat, veluti Sathunum. *Macrob. Sat. lib. I. cap. 8.* Το σωμα του κοσμου παν. *Diod. Sic. lib. I. p. II.*

of the universal Compound ; mentioned by *Diodorus*, as so many Deities of *Egypt*; namely, *Spirit*, or a soft, invisibly active, and subtil Flame, the supposed Matter of the *Æther*, or heavenly Regions ; and immediate Instrument of particular animal, and intelligent Life. Elementary, or sensible Fire. Gross dry Substance, or Earth. Water, or Humidity. And lastly, the Air, or Atmosphere*. Under each of which Head-Divisions of Nature, thus separately, and at large, invested with a divine Character, innumerable Orders of inferior Divinities by Degrees sprang up ; as the several distinct Properties, Effects, and relative Considerations of each came to be more minutely examined: To such successive Inlargements of

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the

* Διο και το μεν απαν σωμα της των όλων φύσεως
 εξ ήλιου και σεληνης απαρτιζεςθαι τα δε τούτων μερη
 πεντε τα προειρημενα, το τε πνευμα, και το πυρ, και
 το ξηρον, επι δε το υγρον, και το τελευταιον το αερωδες
 τούτων δ' εκασου θεου νομισαι, και προσηγοριαν ιδιαν
 εκασω θειναι κατα το οικειον το μεν ουν πνευμα Δια
 προσαγορευσαι κ. τ. λ. *Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. ii.*
Rhod. Chrysippus Mundum Deum dicet esse, ignem
 præterea, et Æthera, Aquam, Terram, et Aera;
 Solem, Lunam, Sidera, Universitatemque Rerum.
Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. cap. 15. Davies. —
 'Tis in the Conception here noted of the *Æthereal*
 Matter, that in the *Greek Mythology* *Jupiter* is stiled,
 πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε, *The Father of Gods and Men*;
 or in other Words, the universally Life-giving and
 informant Principle, as well to the several *deified He-*
roes of the first Ages, as to all the subsequent Gene-
 rations of less distinguished Mankind.

the System of *natural Apotheosis*, as it would be quite endless to represent to you.

You need not, (I interposed here) be at the trouble, *Hortensius*, of treating this Subject any farther in detail. The Foundation Principles of Error, and false Worship, once laid, as you have determined; the Superstructure, I am sensible, might be increased to any requisite Degree at pleasure. The Masters of such a Theology could never want a Pretence to enlarge the Substance of it; whenever, in the course of religious Politics, the quantity of national Superstition should be thought proper to be augmented; as long as there was any such Thing as Fancy or Invention subsisting in their Order. A pregnant Imagination might, in the way of Thinking here supposed, devise as many different Species of Divinity, as there were of distinct Beings; or, I may add, as there could be conceived distinct Powers or Affections of those Beings, in the World.

FOR a view of this Scheme of *multiplied and particularized Apotheosis* literally made Fact, (returned he) one need but run over the List of *Grecian*, and more emphatically still, of *Roman* Deities. In the mean while, to return to our *Egyptian* confessed Leaders in the kind; whilst they were so religiously attentive to the whole Conduct, and Appearances

pearances of Nature, as has been represented; so obvious, as well as important a Distinction in it, as that of Good, and Evil, could not, you may be sure, escape their Notice. They accordingly deified each Branch of this Distinction in their two oppositely personated Characters of *Typhon* and *Osiris* *; *the Inflamer*, and *the black, or muddy River* †. Expressing

* Ου γὰρ αὐχμον οὐδὲ ἀνεμον, οὐδὲ θαλάτταν, οὐδὲ σκοτος, ἀλλὰ παν ὅσον ἡ φύσις βλάβεραι καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἔχει μορίου, τοῦ τυφῶνος ἐστίν. *Plut. de Iside et Osir. p. 369.* He is called also Σηθ, signifying, says the same Author, το κατὰδευνασεν καὶ καταβιάζομενον and to express his general Character they consecrate to him, τῶν ἡμερῶν ζῶων τὸν ἀμαρτῶν οὐκ, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων θηριῶδες ατα, κροκοδείλου, καὶ τοῦ ποταμίου ἵππου. *p. 371. ub. sup.* Το δὲ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὠφελίμον, ὡς Ἰσιδὸς μὲν ἐργον, εἰκονα δὲ καὶ μιμημα, καὶ λόγον Οὔριδος, σεβόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες οὐκ ἀν ἀμαρτανόμεν. *Ubi sup. p. 377.*

† Quemadmodum vero *Nilus Hebræis* ob nigricantes aquas, et quia Terram humectans eam reddet nigram, *Sichor*, sive *Sior*, hoc est, *Niger* dictus est; (*Isa. 23. v. 3. Jer. 11. v. 18.*) ita et *Græcis* eadem de Causâ vocatus est *Μελας*, *Plutarcho*, et *Eustathio*, testibus. Indeque et *Latinis* veteribus appellatus est *Melo*, ut *Festus*, et *Servius*, tradidere. Ex quibus etiam cognoscere licet, cur *Ægyptii*, *Plutarcho* teste, *Osirin* effingant nigrum, nempe nigrum *Nili* colorem attenderunt. Et quid si dicamus, ipsum nomen *Osiris* esse ex *Schichor*, sive, ut mollius pronunciant, *Sior*? Nam *Sior*, trajectis literis, fit *Osir*; unde, terminatione additâ *Græcanicâ* ac *Romanâ*, *Osiris*. Jam ante in *Vocabulis* *Πεας* καὶ *Ἡρης*, ostendimus, *Genitiles* in *Deorum* nominibus istiusmodi trajectione gavisos;

Expressing thus the general Interests of Mischief, and Beneficence in Nature, by a particular local Exemplification in each kind in their own Country: The former Character being, “ Properly that of the Sun, considered as bringing on yearly the intense Summer Heats in *Egypt* *; the latter of the *Nile*, considered in his annual overflow there during the chief part of the Summer Season, as an especial Provision in Nature on its Favour, on that Regard.” For this was, I need not inform you, the Fact here, *Philemon*; that at what time the solar Influences were most afflicting to the *Egyptians*, and seemed to threaten the intire Desolation of their Country by excessive and increasing Drought; the *Nile*, in a kind of Patron Character to a Land he had himself given being to *as such*, by repeated Spoils from a neighbour District †; increased by the continual Rains which had for some Weeks been falling in *Ethiopia*; regularly deluged a great Part of its Surface: Hereby
not

gavisos; ne, si vulgata eorum retinerentur vocabula, haut aliud viderentur, quam Elementa. *Voss. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. 2. cap. 74.*

* It was in this view that they represented *πυρρον γεγονεναι του Τυφωνα, και ουωδη την χροαν. Plut. de Isid. p. 262.*

† *Επικτητος τε γη, και δωρου του ποταμου. Herod. Euterpe, cap. 5. Καθολου γαρ την νυν ουσαν Αιγυπτου λεγουσιν ου χωραν, αλλα θαλατταν γεγονεναι. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 144.*

not only abating in a very sensible Manner the instant Distress; but likewise, by the same Methods he had gradually accumulated, still continuing to enrich the *Egyptian* Soil; and preparing it for an easy and successful Culture for the Service of the ensuing Year, upon the Recess, or drying off of the Flood.

I ALWAYS understood (said I) *Osiris* to be the *Egyptian* Character of the Sun, in quality of his being, as they represented him, *many-eyed* *, or overlooking the whole extent of the Universe. I am sure, I have somewhere met with this account of the name.

THE other I have been giving you, (replied *Hortensius*) is, I think, the truer; that it denotes, in strict Acceptation, the *muddy River*; or the *Nile*. Tho', in compliment to this so friendly Stream to *Egypt*, the Founder, as well as Guardian, and annually improving Power of the Country; the *Egyptians* make use of this Expression to characterize the *whole friendly Interest* in Nature. As on the other hand, *Typhon* is for a direct contrary Reason, made the general Character of *Defect*, *Disorder*, and *Mischief* in the System. In this way of Thinking, the Sun, in different Views of his Operation,

* πολυοφθαλμον, so *Diodorus* interprets the name, Multoculum, lib. i. bib. p. 11.

ration, either in *Egypt*, or in Nature, may, you will observe, be both *Typhon*, and *Osiris*. *Typhon*, as the Cause of intense scorching Heat; *Osiris*, as the Principle of kindly and genial Warmth; the invivifying, and fertilizing Power of the whole Universe *. Tho', as Fear is ever a more powerful Motive to Observation than Love, he was, I believe, more generally regarded in the *Egyptian* Worship under his *Typhonic* Character. Inasmuch as we learn from *Plutarch*, they were used to represent mild, moderated, and generative Light, or Heat, as the more *peculiar* Dispensation of the *sober* and *qualified* lunar Orb; as if it were necessary, she should first receive, and temper the Sun's Beam, before it could be communicated with any beneficent Effect to the Earth †. Agreeably to which Notion, of the

* Cum duo olim statuerentur principia rerum ποιητικα, unum boni omnis, alterum omnis mali; Ægyptii in sole ipso utrumque spectarunt. Ac a bono quidem principio esse dixerunt vim beneficam, quâ Lunam illuminat, ac vitalem animantibus insinuat Calorem. A malo autem principio esse crediderunt vim maleficam; quando suo stirpes ardore exsiccat, animantibus etiam pestilitatem, et exitium, nimio inducit æstu. Quatenus igitur esset beneficus, *Osiridem* vocarunt; at quatenus idem foret maleficus, nominarunt eum *Typhona*. Voss. de Orig. lib. 2. cap. 24.

† Τυφωνα μὲν οἰοῦνται τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κόσμου, Οσίριον δὲ τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ· τὴν μὲν γὰρ σεληνὴν γονιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιον ἐχούσαν εὐμενὴ καὶ γοναίς ζῶων, καὶ φυτῶν

the more immediate Agency of the Moon in the Operations of a kindlier Warmth in Nature, they celebrated an annual Festival upon the opening of their vernal Season, to the hopes of the Year, calling it the *Entry of Osiris*, or benign and generative Virtue, into that Luminary *. In this Supposition, you see, the *Moon* becomes *Osiris*. As is sometimes, with more particular Distinction still, the *Full-Moon*; or the most perfect Exhibition of the Lunar Phasis †. In opposition to which, *Typhon* is either an *Eclipse* happening at that Instant ‡; or the succeeding Stages of the Moon's *Wane* ||. Sometimes

Osiris

Φυτων ειναι βλαστησει· του δε ήλιου ακρατω πυρι κεκληρωκοτα θαλπειντε και καταναειναι τα φυομενα, και τεθνηοτα· και το πολυ μέρος της γης πανταπασιν υπο Φλογμου ποιειν αιικητον. *Plut. de Iside, p. 367.*

* Εμβασιν Οσιριδος εις την σεληνην. *Ubi sup.* 'Tis in this differenced Character of the solar and lunar Orbs, that the Mythologists make *Hercules*, or Brutal Force, to have its Residence in the one, and *Mercury*, or Counsel, in the other. Και το μεν ήλιω του Ηρακλεα μυθολογουσι ενιδρυμενου συμπεριπολειν, τη δε σεληνη του Ερμην· λογου γαρ εργοις εοικε και παρὰ σοφιας τα της σεληνης, τα δ'εν ήλιω πληγασις υπο Βιας και ρωμης περανομενης. *Plut. de Iside, p. 367.*

† Εβδομη επι δεκα την Οσιριδος γενεσθαι τελευτην μυθολογουσιν, ευ ή· μαλιστα γινεται πληρουμενη κατα ήλος ή πανσεληνος, διο και όλως του αριθμου τουτου αφοσιουνται. *Ubi sup.*

‡ Και κατακρατειν πολλαχου και της σεληνης. *Plut. de Isid. p. 367.*

|| In this way of Thinking, *Osiris* is said to have
N reigned

Osiris is *Humidity* in general, consider'd as a necessary Condition to animal or vegetative Generation, and Life; as oppos'd to which, *Typhon* is *Drought*; or whatever tends to destroy, or diminish from, the due Proportion of genial and radical Moisture in Nature *. Sometimes *Osiris* is the *Nile* considered as, by its yearly Precipitations of an earthy Sediment collected in *Ethiopia* upon the Spot, having gained *Egypt* from the Sea; and *Typhon* is here the previous Property of the *Ocean* in these Parts †. Sometimes *Osiris* is the *Nile*, as in its yearly Overflow enriching the Land of *Egypt*, and *Typhon* the *Sea*, as absorbing that River at several Mouths on the northern Side of it.

reigned 28 Years. And to have been torn by *Typhon* into fourteen Parts; the number of Days from the Full-Moon to the New; or the Time of the Moon's Wane.

* 'Οι δε σοφωτεροι των ιερεων Οσιριν μεν απλως απασαν την υγροποιου αρχην και δυναμιν, αιτιαν γενησεως, και σπερματος ουσιαν νομιζοντες, Τυφωνα δε παν το αυχμηρον, και πυρωδες, και ξηραντικον ολως, και πολεμιου τη υγροτητι. *Plut. de Iside. p. 364.* This was the Foundation of the Mythology, that the *Phallus* of *Osiris* was by *Typhon* thrown into the *Nile*, and devoured by Fish. The Meaning here being, doubtless, to express the fertilizing Quality of Water.

† 'Tis in this Sense, that, as *Plutarch* informs us, the *Egyptians* celebrated the Victory of *Orus* over *Typhon*, or the Expulsion of the Sea from their Country, by the annually increasing Sediment of the *Nile*.

it *. Sometimes in a more refined, and highly philosophic Sense, *Osiris* is the *whole active Force* of the Universe, considered as having a *Prepollency* of good in its Effects; and *Typhon* the several *partial* and *subordinate* Workings of a malicious Power in the System †. In all which several Views of *Osiris*, *Philemon*, the particular *passive Subject* upon which he is, in the *Egyptian Method* of Representation, supposed to operate in accomplishment of the Effect ascribed to him under each of them; is called *Isis*. As

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* Θαλασσα γαρ ην η Αιγυπτος; ο Νειλος εξεωσας την Θαλασσαν ανεφηνε το πεδιον, και ανεπληρωσε ταις προςχωσεσιν. *Plut. de Iside. p. 367.*

- Παρ Αιγυπτίοις Νειλον ειναι τον Οσιριν Ισιδι συνοντα τη γη, Τυφωνα δε την Θαλασσαν, εις ην ο Νειλος επιπλυν αφανίζεται και διασπαται. *Plut. de Iside. p. 363.*

† Ac ex eorum Sententiâ, (*Egyptiorum*) in hac Rerum ab utroque principio misturâ; prævalet facultas melioris numinis: attamen non in tantum ut deterioris opus aboleat prorsus: quippe et vis ista deterioris principii penitissimis inhæret corporibus, saltem illis sub Lunâ constitutis: atque inde est, quod meliori semper repugnet Facultati. *Voss. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 5.* In this View, the *Egyptians* used to represent *Typhon* under the Figure of a River-Horse, with a Hawk and Serpent fighting upon his Back. The meaning was, that the *evil Principle* in Nature, tho' continually opposed, never gives way *wholly* to the *good One*. To signify, however, that in some Instances he submits for a Time, the People of *Hermopolis*, had a Festival to *Isis* returning out of *Phœnicia* with the Body of *Osiris*, upon which occasion they figured *Typhon* as *bound* upon their Cakes.

is the result of their mutual Congress, *Orus*. Thus *Isis* is sometimes the Moon, as passive to the Light of the Sun; and *Orus*, the Computation of Time as effected by the Revolutions of these Orbs. Sometimes *Isis* is the Air, or Earth, as passive to the kindlier Influences of the *Heavens in general*; or at other Times, to those of the *Moon in particular*; and the Effect of these two Powers, called *Orus*, is a general Clemency of Season, and consequent Plenty of all vegetative Productions. Sometimes *Isis* is in a distinguished Regard, the Land of *Egypt* watered and enriched into an especial *local* Fruitfulness by the Overflowing of the *Nile*. Sometimes she is the *intire passive Nature* of Things in the abstract; and *Orus*, the Offspring of her Communication in this Sense with the universal active Nature, is the same with the whole Constitution of the sensible World. Each of which different Considerations of these *deified Characters* of *active* and *passive* Power in the Universe, and numberless others that might be added to them *, are the Foundation of distinct Ceremonies in the *Egyptian* Religion.

AND now, *Philemon*, having, I think, taken a general View of the chief Articles of the original Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, the Worship of Nature; we are next to inquire

* Vid. *Plut. de Iside et Osiride*. Libellum passim.

quire a little into the Grounds of that *Symbol-Science* in Religion, by which they were led to represent these several *Natural Divinities* we have been speaking of, under certain *animal* or *artificial* Figures, consecrated to this Purpose. But as I would not tire your Thoughts with too continued an Attention to the same Subject, and our Morning, I believe, is already pretty far spent ; we will reserve this, if you please, together with the still farther and finishing Improvement of their *physical Theology*, by the Introduction of the *human Apotheosis*, or *Hero-Worship* into it ; for another Day's Speculation.

F I N I S.



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Render unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, and to God the Things that are God's. Mat. xxii. 12.

And all Things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do even so to them. Mat. vii. 12.

Printed for M. STEEN, in the Inner-
Temple Lane.

PHILEMON

4
H. M. TO WELBY RYAN

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Fourth CONVERSATION with
HORTENSIVS, upon the Subject of
False Religion.

IN WHICH

A farther GENERAL ACCOUNT is endeavoured
to be given of the Rise and Constitution of
False Theory in Religion in the *Earlier Pagan*
World.

Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγίγνους γενέσθαι φασιν
(Αἰγυπῆσιοι) ὑπαρξάντας μὲν θνητούς, δια δε συ-
νεσιν, καὶ κοινὴν Ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν, τετυχότας
τῆς ἀθανασίας. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12.
Ed. Rhod.



L O N D O N:

Printed for M. STEEN, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.*
M.DCC.XLI.

The Reader is desired to correct the following
Mistakes.

PAGE 9. in the Note, l. 4. for Βιβλίοις, read Βυβλίοις. P. 26. in the Note, l. 11. after προσοφλοντες, instead of a full Point read with a Comma, and read the next Line as a Verse, ending it with απεπλαν. P. 30. in the Notes, l. 2. for γινόμενα, read εγγινόμενα-- and in l. 32. for αναλυνειν, read αναλυνειν, and in l. 33. for κλησιαδας, read κλισιαδας. P. 42. l. 17. for *the Egyptians*, read *the earlier Egyptians*. In the last line of the Notes, p. 44. for υγεια, read υγειαν, and in the next line, for ευρετην, read ευρετιν. P. 46. in the Notes, l. 13. for συν επιθεμενων, read συνεπιθεμενων. In the Note, p. 71. for *parta*, read *partu*. In Note, p. 78. l. 2. for ρητην, read ρητεον. In the Notes, p. 84. l. 6. for επεσταμμενην, read επεστραμμενην. P. 86. l. 2. for *keeps*, read *keep*.



H. Gravé par M. P. sculpt.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES.

&c.

THERE is not, I have often thought, *Hydaspes*, a more effectual Preservative against the *Pride* of Learning, than to reflect a little on the *Materials* of which a great part of it consists. What, for example, is the whole Science of more ancient History, even in the most favourable View of it, but tracing back Human Nature to its State of Infancy, and greatest Imperfection? and conversing with it in such low and childish Particulars, as can alone

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receive

receive a Merit from being considered as the first weak Essays of Improvement, the Principles of higher Attainments, and the Introduction to a better and more interesting Scene of Affairs? For thus it is, *Hydaspes*, we must undoubtedly bring ourselves to conceive of primitive Antiquity, or we shall never arrive at any useful Acquaintance with it. Modern Notions are the same absurd Comment upon the Sentiments and Practices of the first Ages of Mankind, that the correct Judgments of our advanc'd Life would be upon the raw Apprehensions of our Childhood. And yet, ridiculous as such a Procedure may appear, it has the Credit, at least of Numbers on its Party. For, whether it be, that the Reverence Men are usually taught to pay to Antiquity, really blinds their Judgment of it; or that we are all of us too much interested in the Portraiture of our Kind, not to prefer at all times a flattering, to a real Likeness; or whether after all the mere Prejudice of Custom, and the Difficulty there experimentally is in exchanging Habits of manly, for those of childish Thinking, is itself a sufficient Solution of the Point; the Fact however is too notorious: "That in no Subject has Truth suffer'd more by an over-fond Mixture of Imbellishment, than in that of Primitive History." Writers, the most cold and unenter-

unenterprising in other matters, have here for the most part assumed the Sprightliness of Romance; and made a general Sacrifice of Certainty to Fiction, Credibility to Ornament. How much this complimenting Antiquity into Attainments it certainly had not, tends to perplex the Discovery of those it really had, there needs but little Reflection to conceive. Total Darkness being, I had almost said, a *safer* Guide, than a false Light, as the one at worst but leaves us in Ignorance, the other necessarily leads us into Error. A wide Field, *Hydaspes*, where is scarce any end of wandering! Witness the numberless contradictory Systems of Pagan Superstition, that swell so many labour'd Volumes in the learned World; of which 'tis hard to determine, whether they have more embarrass'd themselves, each other, or the Cause in general. Out of whose multiplied and various Intricacies however, I know of no Clue which will so commodiously lead our Thoughts, as the Application of that lowering Regimen above mentioned. A Remedy perhaps, like many others, therefore only so generally overlooked or neglected, because it is indeed the most easy, natural, and obvious one. For, amidst all the Pains that have been taken to perplex this Subject under colour of refining it, the native Meanness of its Original is yet too visible to an unpreju-

dic'd Eye, to suffer one to doubt its being indeed the Product of Ages, whose Acquirements may better excite our Compassion, than our Envy. A Point, *Hydaspes*, you will, I dare say, think sufficiently established, when you shall have perused the Recital I am going to present you with, of the Continuation of *Hortensius's* Discourse to me of the Genius and Constitution of *false Theory* in Religion in the earlier Pagan World.



PART II.

YOU will suppose us met, *Hydaspes*, and uninterrupted, as in my last Report: when *Hortensius*, knowing the Bias of my Inclinations this way, thus voluntarily resumed the Subject of our Inquiry.—We had, (said he to me) I think, pretty well gone through the Head of the *natural* Theology of the Antients; * and were next to examine a little into the Grounds and Constitution of their *Symbolic*, and *Heroic* Worship. But before we go any farther, *Philemon*, I have a previous Point or two to mention to you, which has since our last

* See a Pamphlet intitled, *Philemon to Hydaspes*, &c. Part III.

last Conference occasionally struck me in my private Thoughts upon this Subject. One is, to give you a Caution in regard to that part of our Inquiry which is past; the other, to propose an Amendment or Alteration of Method, which I have recollected with myself to be necessary, in what is yet to come. For the former, *Philemon*, be pleased then to observe, that, though under the Head of the *physical* or *natural* Theology of ancient Paganism, I chose, as well for Clearness as Dispatch, to throw all the several more distinguished Articles of it into one general View, as Parts of an intire System; yet it was by no means my Intention to represent them to you as being all of equal, or nearly equal, Antiquity with one another; or to have you imagine, that many of them were not even of a later Date in History, than some parts both of the *Symbolic* and *Heroic* Worship: however these, as you have heard, are ranked last in the general Division of our Subject.

I AM oblig'd to you (said I) *Hortensius*, for your Care to prevent Mistakes; though I must at the same time think your Caution here rather scrupulous, than necessary. Every one must be aware, that such a Theology as you described could only be the Work of Time, and successive Improvement. Common Sense teaches one,
that

that Systems, as the Proverb tells us of Cities, are not built in a Day. All I understood you to mean was, that such, as you represented it, was, sooner or later, the *natural* Worship of Paganism; your Point being all along to mark out the several more distinguished Stages of its Progress, not to settle the exact Chronologic Periods of it.

I AM glad (return'd he) *Philemon*, to find you are so fully possesst of my Meaning; which I must attribute, however, more to your good Judgment in the Case, than to my own Accuracy. But though my Caution, as I perceive, was needless, the Amendment I have to propose in our Scheme of future Inquiry is, I am sure, a very necessary one. Which, in few words, *Philemon*, is this: That, in reverse of the Order hitherto assigned to the two remaining Articles of our Research, we first take into Consideration the *Heroic* Worship of the *Egyptians*, and then proceed to their *Symbolic*. For this, upon better Reflection, I find to be the real, historic Order of them. Their *Symbols*, as will appear in its Place, upon the united Evidence of Fact and Reason, owe the whole of their preposterous Divinity to that of their *Heroes*; nor would ever probably have been taken into the number of the Gods, but upon the pre-establish'd Apotheosis of certain Deities of Human

Human Kind. An Hypothesis, which, besides the Merit of being founded in Historic Truth, has moreover the additional Recommendation of promising us a more natural Account of the Rise and Progress of the famed *Hieroglyphic-Science* of *Egypt* in general, and of that very remarkable Consequence hereof, its Brute-Worship in particular, than any of those so differently refined Hypotheses in the Point, - which with an equally greater shew of Subtilty, and less Justness of Information, have been generally offered to the World in its stead.

You are doubtless, (interpos'd I) *Hortensius*, the best Judge of the Propriety of your own Method; and have so much a more comprehensive Knowledge of our present Subject than I can pretend to, that I should have no Objection to hearing you in any way you might choose, even tho' I could not enter into the particular Reasons of it. But in the Case now before us I can very evidently discern thus much at least, that one well-attested Fact in Antiquity is worth a Volume of plausible Conjectures about it. I am moreover in general, you know, no great Lover of Refinement; and rather, it may be, too apt to suspect Delusion, where I meet with over-much Subtilty. But more especially and intirely am I for banishing it in *Questions*

tions of more ancient History; where indeed it carries its Confutation in its own Face; and has too strong Marks of Time, and of successive Industry, as well as Acquisition, upon it, to be admitted with any tolerable Grace and Probability.

FROM the Worship then, (resumed *Hor-tensius*) of the more illustrious Parts of *Nature*, let us proceed in the History of Pagan Apotheosis to that of *Heroes*. A Title, *Philemon*, of which I am afraid, we must not a little humble the usual Loftiness of our modern Conceptions, or we shall greatly exceed the true antique Standard and Quality of it. The very Sound of Heroism to most Ears carries in it something great and venerable; and, if it does not immediately hurry our Thoughts into all the fond Extravagancies of *Romance*, at least engages them in some of the more *shining* Periods of History. The Founders of improved Policy; the great Masters of Arts, or Arms; the triumphant Invaders of foreign Liberties; or the more enviable Guardians, or Restorers of their own national ones; these are some of those glittering Images which in our advanc'd Days generally form the Character of an Hero. Hardly indeed shall we be brought to enter into so disparaging an Idea of it, as yet Antiquity assures us to have been the true original one: in
which

which the Occupation of an ordinary Husbandman, Thatcher, Huntsman *, or Mechanic of the most sordid Class; a mere common Blacksmith, as *Lucian* has it, “ passing
 “ all his Days amidst Sparks and Smoke†,”
 was a sufficient Recommendation to Heroism in his Life-time, and to Deification afterwards. For this, *Philemon*, was the general Practice of the ruder and more barbarous Ages; that, in the eagerness of a too forward Gratitude to those first Benefactors to their Kind, who had in any Degree contributed to the better Accommodation of Life, they no sooner saw them remov'd by Death from the Society and Commerce of Men, but they exalted them to that of
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* Απο τούτων εγενοντο ἑτεροι, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀγρος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρουηρος ἢ Ἀγροτης, οὐ καὶ ξοανον εἶναι μάλα σέβασμιον, καὶ ναοῦ ζυγοφορουμένου ἐν Φοινικῇ, παρὰ τε Βιβλίοις ἐξαιρετῶς θεῶν ὁ μεγίστος ὀνομαζεται·—Εἰτα φησὶ τὸν Ὑψουρανιον οἰκῆσαι Τυρόν, καλῦβας τε ἐπινοῆσαι ἀπὸ καλαμῶν καὶ θρυῶν καὶ παπύρων· στασιασάει δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν Οὐσῶν, ὃς σκεπὴν τῷ σώματι πρῶτον ἐκ δερμάτων ὧν ἰσχυρὲ συλλαβεῖν θηρίων εὐρέ· τούτῳ δὲ τελευσαντῶν τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ραβδούς αὐτοῖς ἀφιερωσάει. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. p. 35. Ed. Paris.

† Ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἡρᾶς ἀδουσίη, ἀνεὺ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ ὁμιλίας, ὑπενεμίῳ αὐτὴν παῖδα γενῆσαι τὸν Ἡφαιστὸν, οὐ μάλα εὐτυχὴ τούτου, ἀλλὰ Βρυαύσον, καὶ Χαλκίαν, καὶ Πυρίτην, καὶ ἐν καπνῷ τὸ πᾶν Βιοῦντα, καὶ σπινθήρων ἀναπλεῶν, οἷα δὴ Καμινεύτην. Vid. *Lucian. Op.* Edit. Bourdelot. p. 184.

the Gods.* Nor was indeed the Gradation at all unfutable to the Genius of those Times; that having first worshipped, as we have seen, their *natural* Benefactors, the Sun; Moon, and Stars, in gratitude for the several *natural* Benefits derived to them from their Agency and Influence, they should next pay the same Compliment to their *Civil* ones: who had, as it were, *improved* upon what the others had *began*; had carried their first beneficent Design into still farther Execution; inlarg'd the Sphere of human Happiness; and instructed their Contemporaries at once to multiply the Comforts of Life, and guard against the Inconveniencies inseparable from a merely *natural* State of it.

You are for making the most (I interpos'd) *Hortensius*, of your Heroes Merits, I perceive, and displaying them to the greatest Advantage. Tho' after all, the Temple of Fame was, it should seem, of much easier access in ancient, than it is in modern Times; the same humble Attainments being then sufficient to raise a Man to the highest Class of his Species, which now would scarce escape Contempt, even in the lowest.

So

* Τους Ἀλλοὺς κοινῆς τε τιμῆς καὶ βιωφελούς ευεργεσίας προαρχάντας, ζώντας τε ἐτι, καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν Θεοὺς ἐπιφημισαν. Euseb. Præp. Lib. II. cap. 5. pag. 70.

So much (return'd he) *Philemon*, does a difference of Circumstances in Things alter the real Moment, and Quality of them. We who are full of modern Ideas, and elated with the Privileges of a more advantageous Situation in Life, equally distant in Age, and Simplicity from the Period we are speaking of, are apt to undervalue these ruder Beginnings, and first Efforts of Human Art, and Industry; as being ourselves arrived at much superior Refinements in the Kind. But a Merit they certainly had with those who were Masters of nothing better; and such an one, as, if it was indeed greatly over-rated in the Adoration of past Times, would be full as much undervalued in the Contempt of the present. And to say the truth, *Philemon*, I know not, but the first Step gain'd from *absolute* Ignorance and Barbarism is in itself a Point of higher Importance to Mankind than any of the subsequent Stages of Improvement. It is perhaps a stronger Proof of Genius and Sagacity to have been the *Authors* of the first coarse Accommodations of Life, than to have polished and refined them by After-thought and Skill into much higher Degrees of Usefulness and Elegancy. The one is intirely matter of original Invention; the other only improving upon Notices already received in part from without; and profiting by the Skill and Capacity of those

who have lived before us. But whatever be the Merit of these first rude Artists with regard to later Times, they had, doubtless, as has been observ'd, a very considerable one in their own. Having indeed rais'd Life, if not to that Perfection of Accommodation it has since received, yet certainly to a much more commodious and comfortable State than they found it in; and this too at a time, when Art and Invention were Talents equally uncommon and advantageous. A Sense of which was then so strong upon the Minds of Men, that Apotheosis after Death was thought but a suitable Recompence to Persons of such extraordinary Eminence and Usefulness whilst living. Gratitude for Benefits receiv'd, *Philemon*, is a natural Result of that inborn Self-Love which is the great ruling Principle of Human Action. And would operate, we may easily imagine, with a Force unknown to us of later Days in those Ages of *rude undisguis'd* Nature, the Simplicity of which could only be equalled by their extreme Helplessness. Under such Circumstances, the slightest Services to the Public would be received with all the Rapture of the most important Obligation; and raise the Reputation of their Author to an Height something more than mortal: As indeed they might well do, considering the low Standard of ordinary Attainments in the
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same earlier Times. For 'tis in this view I cannot, I must confess, help looking upon the renowned Labors of the Heroic Ages, tho' generally represented to us by Ancients, as well as Moderns, with a Pomp of Description, which might even do honor to a much more advanc'd and imbellish'd Period of Affairs. But the Truth is, being complimented with *Divinity* by the grateful Weakness of their own Times, they had both the natural Uncertainty of Tradition, and the Disposition which most People have to heighten what they do not understand, to exalt them into *Wonders*, I had almost said, *worthy of Divinity*, in succeeding Ages. Whilst the few, who were wise enough to see through the Delusion, were at the same time crafty enough to let it pass with the rest of the World; till they had by degrees extracted a System of refin'd and gainful Politics, out of what was at first mere artless Admiration, and ignorant Amazement.

THIS is a much more rational Account (said I) *Hortensius*, I think, of the Introduction of the Human Apotheosis, than theirs, who are for resolving it into the immediate Artifice of Priests, or Politicians. And indeed, besides that the Reason of the Thing itself speaks it to have been the Creature of Ignorance and Barbarism; the other Opin-

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nion seems to me not very agreeable to matter of Fact and History. Every body knows, how very disadvantageously the Divinity of *Alexander* and *Cæsar* stands differenced from that of the more antient Heroes of the fabulous Ages. And yet surely the Merits of these two celebrated Persons were every way as equal to the Dignity of the complete Apotheosis, as those of any of their Predecessors in Heroism can be pretended to be. Nor were, I think, the Arts of Priestcraft and Policy ever in a more improv'd State than at the Periods here mentioned. What then is the natural Construction of this so remarkable an Inferiority on *their* Part, but plainly, I think, this? That the Times of *Alexander* and *Cæsar* were too much enlightened to authorise *anew*, in its full Latitude, so gross an Absurdity in their Religion, as the Worship of a Fellow-Creature. I say to authorise it *anew*, *Hortensius*. For, that they kept to a Worship of the same kind delivered down to them from their Ancestors, was purely an Accommodation to popular Weakness and Prejudices; from a Sense of the Hazard there is in undermining Foundations long laid, and a Fear of throwing the Multitude out of all Religion, by endeavouring to rescue them from the Reproach of an irrational one. But whilst they durst not venture to reform the popular

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lar System of Superstition, they were scrupulous however of adding more Articles of Error to it. And tho' they were tender of disgracing the Divinity of their old Heroes, they were not, it should seem, for making the same rash and unwarrantable Compliment to new ones *.

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* With how little Success the Affectation of *Alexander* to be esteemed a God was attended, even in the height of his Fame and Victories, we have abundant Evidence in Antiquity. It stood him in the Fatigue of a long and troublesome Journey, besides the Expence of several costly Donations to the Temple, and Priests of the *Libyan Jupiter*, to be nominally proclaimed for such; the serious Belief of his Divinity was what he was by no means able to establish—Igitur *Alexander* cupiens divinam Originem acquirere, (says *Justin*) simul et Matrem infamiâ liberare, per præmissos subornat Antistites, quid sibi responderi velit. Ingredientem Templum statim Antistites, ut *Hammonis* Filium salutant. Comitibus quoque suis reponsum, ut *Alexandrum* pro Deo, non pro Rege, colerent. *Justin*. Lib. xi. cap. 11. How slender a regard was paid to the Mercenary, not to add (what appears both from *Diodorus's* and *Plutarch's* Account of the Matter) equivocal Compliment of the Oracle upon this Occasion, appears from our Heroe's own Account of the Answer he had received from *Philotas*, upon first giving him notice of it—Hic quum scripsissem ei, pro jure tam familiaris amicitiae, qualis fors edita esset *Jovis Hammonis* Oraculo, sustinuit rescribere mihi, se quidem gratulari quod in numerum Deorum relatus essem; ceterum Misereri Eorum quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. *Quint. Curt.* Lib. vi. 27. The same Author informs us of the stinging Reproach offered to *Alexander*, upon his affecting Divine Honors, by *Hermolaus*, in the following

YOUR Observation (return'd he) *Philemon*, is certainly a very just one. Priests and

lowing Words——Tu *Macedonas* voluisti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut Deum. Tu *Philippum* Patrem averfaris, et si quis Deorum ante *Jovem* haberetur, fastidires etiam *Jovem*. Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quint. Curt. Lib. viii. cap. 26. They had still less reason to indure the Vanity of *Alexander* here, if they were aware, as *Plutarch* tells us some represented the Case, that the whole Pretence upon which he founded his Title to Adoration was a mistaken Pronunciation of the *Greek* Language by the Priest who presided at the time of his *Libyan* Expedition in the Temple of *Jupiter*.—Επειδε διεξελθων την ερημον ηκει εις την πολιν, ο μεν προφητης αυτον ο 'Αμμωνος απω του θεου χειρειν, ως απο πατρος, προσειπεν· ο δε επηρετο μητις αυτον ειη διαπεφευγως των του πατρος φωνων; ευφημειν δε του προφητου καλεσαντος, (ου γαρ ειπαι πατερα θυητου αυτω) μεταβαλλων επυνθανετο κ τ λ—ενιοι δε φασιν, του μεν προφητην 'Ελληνιστι βουλομενου προσειπειν, μετα τιμος φιλοφροσυνης, 'Ω παιδιου, εν τω τελευταιω των φθογών υπο βρβαρισμου προς το σιγμα εξενεχθηναι, και ειπειν, 'Ω παιδιος, αντι του υ το σ χρησαμενου· ασμενω δε τω Αλεξανδρω το σφαλμα της φωνης γενεσθαι, και διαδοθηναι λογον, ως παιδα Διος αυτου του θεου προσειποντος· Plut. in Alex. p. 680. Ed. Xyl. What the wiser, and disinterested Part of the *Romans*, thought of *Cæsar's* Divinity, the following Passages will sufficiently inform us—Prægravant tamen cætera Facta, ut abusus Dominatione, et jure Cæsus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, sed et ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est. Sedem auream in curiâ, et pro Tribunali. Thensam et Ferculum Circensi Pompâ. Templa, Aras, Simulachra juxta Deos,

and Politicians have both of them real Corruptions enough to answer for, without being charged with imaginary ones. 'Tis a great Mistake to think, that they first *taught Men Superstition*. That would probably have been a Strain of Art beyond the Compass of their most refin'd and subtil Politics. Nor was it any way to their purpose to attempt this, when they could carry their Point full as successfully, and much more easily with Mankind, by dealing with them as already *instructed to their hands*. They indeed found them abundantly *self-taught* in the Business of Superstition. The Seeds of Religion were either

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Deos, Pulvinar, Flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem Mensis e suo Nomine. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 76. — To the same purpose *Florus*—Itaque non ingratis Civibus omnes honores unum in principem congesti. Circa Tempia imagines, in Theatro distincta radiis Corona, Suggestus in Curiâ, Fastigium in Domo, Mensis in Cœlo—quæ omnia velut insulæ in destinatam Morti victimam congerebantur, Flor. Lib. iv. cap. 2. *Cicero* speaks yet more plainly the Sense of his Time as to this Point—An me censetis, Patres Conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut Parentalia cum Supplicationibus miscerentur? Ut inexpiabiles Religiones in Rempublicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur Supplicationes Mortuo? nihil dico Cui. fuerit ille Lucius Brutus, &c. — Adduci tamen non possum, ut quenquam Mortalium conjungerem cum immortalium Religione. Phil. i. 6. Ed. Græv. and elsewhere, Est ergo Flamen, ut *Jovi*, ut *Marti*, ut *Quirino*, sic Divo *Julio M. Antonius*? — Quæres placeatne mihi Pulvinar Esse, Fastigium, Flaminem? mihi vero nihil istorum placeat. Phil. ii. 43.

by the Hand of Nature or Tradition sown thick in the Breast of every Man. And though for want of proper Care and Culture they might not yield the good Produce they were intended to do, they would not however fail to spring up in some wilder Species of a less valuable Fruitfulness; as was, it must be confess'd, too generally the Case. Now here properly came in the Art and Address of the Hierarch, and the Statesman. He was to fall in with the particular Vogue and Cast of popular Delusion in this kind; to cherish the prevailing Weakness of the Multitude; and by a dexterous Conduct and Application of public Failings to turn the Biass of them to his own private Ends and Interests. And accordingly, as under the Head of the natural Theology we had occasion, you may remember, to observe the Course of Superstition in that Channel, advancing gradually from popular Weakness into Philosophic System; so here again we shall observe a parallel Gradation in the Progress of Heroic-Worship: in which, as will be shewn, what began in the Simplicity of a few artless funeral Ceremonies, and more obvious Tokens of Concern for the Loss of a late departed Benefactor, was in a Succession of Time and Politics wrought up into all the gainful Intricacies, and elaborated Horrors, of a *periodical*, and *more solemnly Religious*,

Religious, Mystery. And here, *Philemon*, we may in passing take notice of the very different Turns of Error in the same Subject. By one Set of Men, whatever was amiss in Religious Paganism, the *Priesthood* in those Days is immediately charged with being the Authors of it. Whilst by those of another Stamp the *Priesthood* is made to have no share in these Corruptions, but the whole blame is full as unjustly placed to the account of *Philosophy*. And, for fear we should be too free with Reason in Subjects of Religion, we are told, that from this *sole Principle* sprang all the Absurdities of a religious kind that ever prevailed in Antiquity. They had their Birth in the Refinements of conceited Rationalists; were the Product of pretended Speculation and Philosophic Inquiries into the Nature of Things; and arose from a certain Infidel Humor, as prevalent in antient as modern Times, of opposing Science to Faith, and Reasoning to Tradition*. It was a great Ge-

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nius

*If we examine, we shall see, that from the Beginning to the present Times, it has always been a vain Philosophy, and an Affectation of *Science falsely so called*, that has corrupted Religion. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 318. Compare with this, Con. Vol. II. p. 290, 291. They (Men of the first Parts) fell into these Errors, not by paying too great a Deference to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable Scheme of Religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 305. See also p. 306.

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nus and *Astronomer* amongst the *Egyptians*, 'tis said, " thinking to speculate, and hap-
 " pening to think wrong," who first seduced
 his Countrymen into the Infatuation of *Sa-
 biism*. And in consequence of his Astro-
 nomic Science taught them that Worship
 upon Principles of *Art*, which they were,
 I should think, fully qualified to learn, with-
 out his Instructions, from the Simplicity of
Rude Nature *. And the same fruitful
 Source of Error and Misbelief, pursued
 yet farther in After-Ages, gave rise, it
 is maintained, to all the subsequent Ar-
 ticles of their increasing Polytheism †. In
 order to make out which Hypothesis, *Phi-
 lemon*, Systems of Philosophic Refinement
 even of the *lowest* Date in Pagan Antiquity
 shall be made the Ground-work of Idola-
 tries of the highest. Salvos and Apologies
 for establish'd Errors shall be considered as
 the original Causes and Reasons of their
 Establishment. Palliating and Accommo-
 dation be strain'd into Proofs of strict Philo-
 sophic Sentiment. Tolerating interpreted
 to mean the same thing with Instituting.
 Till,

Their great and learned Men erred not for
 want of *Free-thinking*, such as they called so; but
 their Opinions were in direct opposition to the true
 Revelations which had been made to the World,
 and might be called the Deism of those Ages. Shuck.
 vol. II. p. 460.

* See Shuck. Con. vol. I. p. 318.

† See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 278-9, and following
 ones.

Till, as if there was nothing of Policy in the Case, but all was genuine Mistake and Delusion, it shall at last be asserted, “ that
 “ there never was any thing so extrava-
 “ gant or ridiculous in Religion, but Men
 “ of the first Parts, and eminent for their
 “ natural Strength of Understanding,
 “ when left wholly to themselves, have
 “ been deceiv’d to imbrace and defend it*.”
 Such merely *splendid Weakness*, it seems, was the most improved State of natural Reason, unassisted by the additional Guidance of Revelation. And so *uncandid* a Censurer was the great Apostle of these Gentiles, when he reproached them with a Criminal Neglect, or Suppression of *that which was*, in this account, *not to be known* by them *of God*, previously to any supernatural Discovery of him†. But in Truth, *Philemon*, and Systems apart, neither Priests, I believe, nor Philosophers, were properly the Authors of the Pagan Superstitions. They were the genuine Offspring of popular Rudeness and Ignorance. And if Philosophy did not do all it might have done towards giving Men juster Apprehensions of things, it was, because it either wanted Courage to oppose the Cheat, or was often administer’d by hands too deeply interested in it; and affords us, I am afraid, a much more justifiable

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. from p. 278, to 307.

† See Rom. i. v. 19.

liable Presumption of Cowardice, or Corruption in the Hearts of its Professors, than of any Want of competent Information in their Understandings.

IF Accommodations (I interrupted) *Hortensius*, to popular Prejudices are any Proofs of being oneself in the common Delusion, even the Light of Revelation has been of no very eminent Advantage in point of Religious Instruction to a great part of the more knowing Christian World. For are not Christians at this day, in a certain Communion I could name, tolerated in Superstitions, which might have almost contested the Preeminence of Absurdity with the grossest Pagan ones? To say here that many things are not suffered to pass with the Multitude, of which the Learned evidently perceive the Ridicule, is making a Compliment to their Sincerity, at a much greater Disgrace to their Penetration, than they themselves would generally, I believe, be thankful for. And thus without doubt stood the Fact in Philosophic Antiquity. For the Nature of Mankind, and Reasons of Policy, have been always, I suppose, pretty nearly the same. Seriously a Man must read the Writings of the antient Theistic Philosophers (and such only can this Question concern) with a very perverse Comment, who does not see, that they *knew* much better, than they sometimes

times found it prudent to *teach* ; and were every way qualified to have given the World a competently rational Theory of Religion, if they had not found them already in possession of a traditionary one of a very different Genius ; and from the Danger of unsettling Establishments, and letting in Light upon weak Eyes, been led to turn their Thoughts rather to the palliating, than the Reforming Side in this Affair. And indeed were not the most undoubted Patrons of Revelation so fond of this Hypothesis, *Hortensius*, one would wonder what possible Advantage to their Cause they could propose from it. To me it seems to be not more undermining the Principles and Foundation of natural Religion, than it is thereby taking away the *only sure* Test and Criterion of the Merit of Revealed. For if Men have *no* previous natural Notices of a Supreme Being by which to judge of what *may*, or *may not*, be supposed to come from him in a way of more extraordinary Communication, the Credit of all pretended Revelations is manifestly put upon the same Footing. Every thing is to be received as a Revelation, which a confident Enthusiast or Impostor may call such : or rather the very Supposition itself of *any such thing* is render'd absurd and ridiculous.

IT would carry us (return'd he) too much out of our way at present, *Philemon*, to enter into a more particular Censure of this Hypothesis. Its Aim doubtless is to inhance the *Value* of Revelation, by evincing the *absolute Necessity* of it. But, besides that Men should be cautious how they compliment Revelation into this supposed Necessity at the Expence of its own proper Evidences; the Term Necessity here is, I think, too *strong* an one. Expediency is all that is wanted in the Case, and all that either Reason, or indeed Fact, seems to justify the Assertion of. For look into the subject Matter of the Revelation contended for, and you will find, that the greatest part of what are properly new Discoveries in it are rather Inforcements *of* natural Religion, than Additions *to* it. For the rest, it teaches little more than what had been taught before. But then it has the Advantage of teaching it with an Authority peculiar to itself; and in a manner so much more suitable to the Ends of popular Improvement, as to give it an undisputed Superiority to every *human* Method of Instruction. But this, as I said, is a matter beyond our present Compass. Nor need we indeed entertain so raised an Idea of Philosophic Antiquity, as is here contended for, to satisfy ourselves, that the particular Error in Religious Paganism we are now considering

sidering; the Worship of the antient Heroes, was not instituted from that Quarter. It had in truth so very little of Philosophy in it at its first Appearance in the World, that the subtle Industry of Mythologists, exercising itself probably for Ages together to this end, could with Difficulty form it to a Philosophic Air and Aspect even in its latest Periods. No, *Philemon*; the Workings of undisciplined Nature are a much better Account of the Origin of Hero-Worship, than any Stratagems of Art or Politics. Philosophy of the humblest kind could not but have remonstrated to such a palpable Absurdity; and must have been too sensibly struck with its Confutation, to have projected its Establishment. The most that Policy could accomplish in the Case was, as appears from the History of later Deifications of this kind, to extort a formal Testimony of Apotheosis from the constrained and flattering Voices of the People, not to procure a real and affectionate Adoration from their Hearts *. And to compliment its Heroes

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* Jamque omnibus præparatis, Ratus (Alexander) quod olim pravâ mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum, quonam modo cœlestes honores usurparet cœpit agitare. Jovis filium non tantum dici se, sed etiam credi volebat. Tanquam perinde *animis* imperare posset, ac *Linguis*. Itaque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora jussit. Non deerat talia concupiscenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum Malum Regum, quorum opes sæpius assentatio quam Hostis evertit. Quint. Curt. Lib. VIII. cap. 17.

into the empty Title of Divinity, without obtaining for them either the hearty Persuasion, or the more substantial Honors of it. These had been long appropriated to those Heroes of remoter Antiquity, who lived in happier Times for an Advancement of this nature *. For that their Advancement

* Και τοι μεγαλαι μεν ὑμνουνται πραξεις εν Ασσυριοις Σεμιραμιος· μεγαλαι δε αι Σωσστριος εν Αιγυπτῳ· Κυρος δε Περσας, Μακεδονας δε Αλεξανδρος, ολιγου δειν επι περας της γης κρατουντας προηγαγον· αλλα ονομα και μνημην Βασιλεων αγαθων εχουσιν· ει δε τινες εξαρθεντες ὑπο μεγαλαυχιας, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλατων, αμα νεοτητι και αγνοια, φλεγόμενοι την ψυχην, μεθ' ὕβρεως εδεξαντο θεων εὔνοιας, και ναων ιδρυσεις, Βραχυν ηνθησεν ἡ δοξα χρονον· εἴτα κενοτητα, και αλαζονειαν, μετα ασεβειας, και παρανομιας, προσωφλοντες·

Ωκυμοροι, καπνοιο δικην, αρθεντες απεπλαν καινου, ὡς περ αγωγιμοι δραπεται, των ιερων και των Βωμων αποσπασθεντες, ουδεν αλλ' η τα μνηματα και τους ταφους εχουσιν. Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride, pag. 360. We have a remarkable Example of this in the Instance of *Semiramis* recorded in *Lucian's* Treatise of the *Syrian* Goddes. Εν αρισπερη του νεω Σεμιραμιος ξοανην εστηκε, εν δεξιη του νηου επιδεικνυουσας· ανεστη δε δι' αιτιην τοινηδε· ανθρωποισι, ὅκοσοι Συριην οικουσι, νόμον εποιεετο ἑωυτην μεν ὁπως θεον ἱλάσκεσθαι, θεων δε των αλλων, και αληθους Ἠρας γαλογεειν· και ὡδε εποιεον· μετα δε, ὡς οἱ θεοθεν αφικοντο νοσοι τε, και συμφορη, και αλγεια, και μανις μενεκενης απεπαυσατο, και θνητην ἑωυτην ὁμολογεε, και τοισι ὑπηκοοισι αυτις εκελευεν ες Ἠρην τρεπεσθαι· τουνεκα δη ετι τοινηδε ανεστηκε, τοισι ἀπεικνέομενοισι την Ἠρην ἱλασκεσθαι δεικνυσσα, και θεον οὐκ ἑωυτην, αλλ' εκεινην ὁμολογουςα. Lucian. de

ment was indeed the immediate **Recom-**
pence after Death of their well-timed La-
 bors and Services to their Contemporaries
 in the Course of their Lives is with me,
 I must confess, a matter beyond all reason-
 able Doubt or Contradiction. Nor can I
 ever bring myself to subscribe to their Hy-
 pothesis, who contend, that the first Hero
 Gods of the *Egyptians*, (the great Leaders,
 you know, in Theologic Paganism) were
 not deified upon their Decease by the warm
 Gratitude of their surviving Countrymen;
 but by the Artifice of intriguing Statesmen
 many Centuries afterwards *.

THIS is surely (said I) a very unnatural
 way of thinking, to place the Recompence
 of their Benefactions in an Age so much
 below the Date of them. When the very
 Memory of what they had performed must

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have

de Syr. Deâ, p. 1072-3. *Lysippus* spoke the Sense
 of many People as well as his own, when he pro-
 fessed to despise *Alexander* as a God, though he ho-
 nored him as a Man. Εὐ δὲ καὶ Λυσίππος ὁ πλα-
 στής Ἀπελλῆν ἐμεμψατο τοῦ Ζωγράφου, ὅτι τὴν Ἀ-
 λεξανδρου γράφων εἰκόνα, κεραυνου ἐνεχειρίσειν αὐτὸς
 δὲ λόγχην, ἥς τὴν δοξάν οὐδὲ εἰς ἀφαιρησεται χρόνος,
 ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἰδιαν οὖσαν. Plut. ub. sup. p. 360.

* In time they (the *Egyptians*) looked over the
 Catalogue of their Ancestors, and appointed a Wor-
 ship for such as had been more eminently famous in
 their Generations. Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 336.
 The same Thought is pursued and explained more at
 large in vol. II. from p. 281, to 292.

have been in a great measure extinguished, or retained only in such a confused and general way, as to be but a weak Foundation for that Personal Regard and Gratitude, without which, Politicians would scarce have been able to have procured them such high Marks of Honor and Distinction. Besides that, had their particular Services been ever so well remembered, still it should be considered, that Life had now been long improving; and the superior Skill and Refinements of succeeding Ages must have in a great Degree eclipsed the Merit of their weaker Obligations.

To what different Conclusions, I cannot help remarking here (returned *Hortensius*) will the very same Principles lead Men, according to the different Views they have in applying them? Time, *Philemon*, which you esteem so much an Enemy to our Heroes Glory, is in the Construction of this Hypothesis made to have been the chief Friend to it. And instead of erasing, as you seem to apprehend, their Memory, becomes the immediate Instrument of their Apotheosis. For whilst indeed it preserved but little of their true Character, it infinitely over-paid their Loss in the superior Advantages it gave them of an imaginary Reputation. Improving the want of authentic Records of real Benefactions into

a pompous Register of fabulous ones ; and raising at once the Credit of their Services from Fact to Fiction, and of themselves from Earth to Heaven *. For *thus* only, we are told, could they ever have arrived at this Advancement. “ The Fame of “ deceased Persons” being, it seems, a Plant of such slow Improvement, that it “ must “ have Ages to grow up to Heaven : And “ Divine Honors being not with any tolerable Decency to be given to them, but “ but by a late Posterity †.”

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* See Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 286.

† See as before, p. 287. The Learned Writer upon this Occasion supports his Hypothesis by the Testimony of *Plutarch* in the several Cases, as above represented, of *Semiramis*, *Sesostris*, *Cyrus*, and *Alexander*. Upon which he observes, “ that whenever “ any of these Persons affected Divinity, they sunk “ instead of raising their Character by it ; their “ Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods.” It had not enough of Extravagancy and Romance in it to raise them to the Dignity of the Apotheosis ; a fabulous Fame being supposed here a necessary Condition to a divine one. And accordingly *Plutarch* is introduced contending that the several Hero Gods of the *Egyptians* were *Genii*, and not Men, as conceiving them to have been of a *Power and Nature more than Mortal*. Βελτιον ουν οι τα περι του Τυφωνα, και Οσιριν, και Ισιν, ιστορουμενα, μητε θεων ειναι νομιζοντες, μητε ανθρωπων, αλλα Δαιμονων μεγαλων ειναι νομιζοντες. Concerning whom it is afterwards observed, that they were esteemed to be, ερρωμενεστερους ανθρωπων, το δε Θειον ουκ αμιγες ουδε ακρατον εχοντας, αλλα και ψυχης Φυσεως και σωματος

A SIMILE (said I) *Hortensius*, is, you know, with many People a much more dif-

ματος αισθησεως συνεληχотας, ηδουνη δεχομενης και πονου, και οσα ταυταις γινόμενα ταις μεταβολαις παθη τους μεν πολλους, τους δ' ητλου επιταραττειν. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 360. But whoever takes in the Context in this Place, and attends to the full Scope and Purport of *Plutarch's* Reasoning here, will find, that the true Motive to his making Demons or middle Natures of the *Egyptian* Heroes was not their being represented to have acted above the ordinary Powers of *Men*, but below all rational Conceptions of *Gods*—Ει ταυτα περι της μακαριας και αφθαρτου Φυσεως, καθ' ην μαλιστα νοειται το Θεον, ως αληθως πραχθεντα και συμπεσοντα δοξαζουσι και λεγουσι, αποπλυσαι δεῖ και καθηρασθαι το στομαχ, κατ' Αισχυλον. Plut. ubi sup. p. 358. This was the Difficulty on one Side of the Question. And on the other, to go into the Scheme of *Euhemerus* the *Mes-senian*, and reduce the whole System of Hero-Gods to certain mere common Men of the first Ages, after they had been long in possession of a much higher Character; this, it was thought, was making too free with established Opinions, and, as most Men were apt to confound their own educational Prejudices about Religion with Religion itself, might be opening a Door to Atheism—Οκνω δε μη τουτο η τα ακινητα κινειν, και πολεμειν ου τω χρονω πολλω, κατα Σιμωνιδην, μονου, πολλαις δε ανθρωπων εθνεσι και γενεσι κατοχοις υπο της προς τους θεους τουτους οσιοτητος, ουδεν απολιποντας του εξ ουρανου μεταφερειν επι γην ονοματα τηλικαυτα, και τιμην και πιστιν ολιγου δεῖν απασιν εκ πρωτης γενεσεως ευδεδυκῆσθαι εξισταναι και αναλειτουργειν, μεγαλας μεν τω αθεω λεω κλησιαδας ανοιγεντας, και εξανθρωπιζοντι τα θεα. The Medium therefore approved by our Philosopher upon this Occasion was, as we say, that of consider-

dispatchful Method of Conviction, than a dry Piece of Reasoning. And yet, methinks, to pursue a little the Comparison before us, could we but happily find out a proper Soil and Season for the Purpose, the Plant we are speaking of might have a much quicker Growth than is here supposed. For, may we not consider Fame in the intelligent World as in some respects of the Nature of what are called Annuals in the vegetable? 'tis not perhaps a common Cultivation that will produce it. Happier Seasons, a more improved Receptacle, and much additional Power of Sunshine are necessary to its successful Propagation. But under these Advantages it is much sooner raised to its Perfection than many a Plant of an humbler Species. And thus, *Hortensius*, with your leave, I would answer, as I think is the most suitable way, one Simile with another. For the more serious Part of the Argument, the greater *Decency* here ascribed to a late Deification; that, I must own,

ing the several Divinities of the Heroic Class as so many middle Natures between Gods and Men. Βελτιον ουν κτλ. See Plutarch de Iside, &c. p. 359, 360. The Embarrass which the wiser Antients were under as to this Matter is thus excellently represented by our Author in the Sequel of this Treatise—
 Πως ουν χρηστεον εστι ταις ανθρωποις, και αγγελ-
 σταις, και πνευσιμοις θυσιαις, ει μητε παρραλιπεν
 τα νομισμενα καλως εχει, μητε φυρειν τας προς θε-
 ων δοξας και συνταραττειν υποψιας ατοποις; D.
 Iude, p. 378.

seems to me to lie wholly on the side of an early one. For surely they who lived under the actual Sense and Feeling of our Heroes Benefactions had a much better Apology to offer for the Worship of them, than such as were situated in Life equally below the Reach, and the Memory, of the first Heroic Labors. And who therefore to the Guilt of authorising, as is here supposed, the *Practice* of the human Apotheosis; must have added the Aggravation of trusting altogether to fabulous Tradition, and the doubtful Reports of common Fame, for the very Reasons of it.

WE will then proceed (resumed *Hortensius*) upon this Point as sufficiently confirmed to us both from Reason and History; that the proper Institution of Heroic-Worship was the Work of remoter Antiquity. For the particular Modification, and Conduct of this kind of Worship, we must have recourse to the *Egyptian* Formularies. Historians are, I think, universally agreed, that “ the
“ *Egyptians* were the first of Mankind who
“ were known to have been acquainted
“ both with the Names and Histories of the
“ chief Hero-Gods of Paganism *.” As
indeed

* Πρώτοι μὲν ὧν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Ἀγυπῆσιοι λεγόνται θεῶν τε εὐνοίην λαβεῖν.—Πρώτοι δὲ καὶ ὀνόματα ἰρὰ ἐγνώσαν, καὶ λόγους ἰρῶν ἐλεξάν
Lucian

indeed they might very naturally be, considering that the original Subjects of them were themselves *Egyptians*; had been personally resident in *Egypt*; and, in the several Cities to which they had given both Being and Names, left many standing Monuments of their once more immediate Power and Presence in this Country *. In consequence of which so near and national a Relation to Divinity, the *Egyptians* are said to have been the Original Authors of a public Divine Worship: To have instituted from the earliest Memory amongst themselves the Practice of stated Meetings, Processions, and Solemnities of a Religious kind; and to have given the Example of such periodical Observances, and more pompous and splendid Superstitions, to most other Parts of the Pagan World †. To them there-
F fore

Lucian de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057. Σχεδόν δε και παντα τα ονοματα των θεων εξ Αιγυπτίου εληλυθε ες την Έλλαδα. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 50. Ed. Steph.

* Της πασης οικουμενης (φασιν Αιγυπτιοι) κατα μνην την Αιγυπτίου ειναι πολεις πολλας υπο των αρχαιων θεων εκτισμενας, οίου Διός, Ήλιου, Έρμου, Απολλωνος, Πανος, Ειλειθυιας, αλλων πλειουνων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. 1. p. 12.

† Πανηγυριας δε αρα και ωρμπας και προσαγωγας πρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπτιοι ειτι οι ποιησαμενοι και παρα τουτων Έλληνες μεμαθηκασι. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 42. Πρωτοι μεν ων ανθρωπων, των ήμεις ιδμεν, Αιγυπτιοι λεγονται και ισα εισασθαι, και τεμενεα, και πανηγυριας αποδεξαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1057.

fore let us here apply ourselves, *Philemon*; and from a careful Attention to what they are reported to have practised in the Worship of their two principal Hero-Deities, *Osiris*, and *Isis*, form a kind of Theory, or general Idea in our Minds of the Quality of Hero-Worship at large. For which Antiquity gives us, I may observe, a sufficient Warrant, when it informs us, as its own Judgment in the Case, that some of the most celebrated Instances of *Heroic* Superstition in different Ages, and Countries, were but the *adopted Rites* of the two Divinities just mentioned *: An Evidence this, in the lowest Construction of it, that they were at least the same in kind, if not strictly such in Substance. All of them, (what, I believe, we might venture to assert of every Instance of Heroic-Worship without reserve) founded in the same general Reasons and Principles, and partaking upon the whole of one common Purpose, Design, and Sentiment. The Character which Antiquity has preserved to us of the *Egyptian Osiris* and *Isis* is, that they were

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* Την μεν γαρ Οσιριδος τελετην τη Διουσου την αυτην ειναι, την δε της Ισιδος της Δημητρος ομοιοτηταν υπαρχειν, των ονοματων μονου ευηλλαγμενον· Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 86. Εισι δε ενιοι Βυβλιων, οι λεγουσι παρὰ σφισι τεθαφθαι του Οσιριν του Αιγυπτιου· και τα πενθεα, και τα οργια, ουκ ες Αδανιν, αλλ' ες Οσιριν παντα ωρησσεσθαι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

a very early King and Queen of *Egypt*, whose Reign was one continued Series of public Benefactions, and Services both to their Kingdom, and Neighbourhood *. Or, what is probably the more literal Truth of their Case, they were two very active, benevolent, and public-spirited Persons at the Head of a Colony in *Egypt*, at the Time of its first Peopling; who taught many useful Inventions and Accommodations of Life, as well to those who were immediate Sharers with them in the Occupation of their new Territory, as to such of the neighboring Clans, and alike recent Settlements round about them, as either wanted, or would partake of their Assistance. I pretend not to adjust the precise Chronology of our *Egyptian* Heroes, *Philemon*; or to enter into a Question, the Intricacies of which have long baffled the Industry of the ablest Inquirers to determine: and which perhaps is best determined after all, if one may be allowed to speak so, by being left to that impenetrable Obscurity it is found in. For such surely must be thought its Case, when the Times and Characters of the two celebrated Persons we are speaking of have been

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* Ταυτην δε λεγουσι (την Ισιν) γημαντα του Ο-
σιριν, και την Βασιλειαν διαδεξαμενου πολλα πρα-
ξαι προς ευεργεσιαν του κοινου βιου. Diod. Sic. Bib.
Lib. I. p. 13.

as confidently, as severally, contested to fall in with all those of *Ham**, *Misraim*†, *Esau*‡, and

* See *Marsham's Chron. Can.* p. 30. 31.

† See *Shuck. Con.* Vol. I. p. 205, and following ones.

‡ See *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des anciens Peuples* par Mr. Fourmont, Vol. I. Liv. 2. chap. 13. Je dis donc, et je soutiens ce que toute la terre a ignorée, qu'il n'y a jamais eu d'autre *Osiris*, qu' *Esau*, Fils de *Sadid*, c'est à dire de *Δευς*, ou d' *Isaac*. p. 104. La Montagne de *Seir*, ou il fit sa demeure particuliere lui donna le nom de *Hofsheiri* ou *Osiri*, l'habitant, c'est à dire le Prince de *Seir*. p. 107. This Author is a great Clearer of Difficulties in the Chronology of the Heroic Ages. He has an Art of reducing almost all the Hero Gods of the Pagan World to the Family of *Abraham*. He is so fond of this Hypothesis, that he knows not how sufficiently to applaud himself for the Invention of it. On trouve bien, says he, que *Jupiter* est fils de *Kronos*, que *Kronos* étoit fils d' *Ouranos*, et celui ci fils d' *Acmon*. Mais, une chose étonnante, jamais aucun Mythologiste a-t-il osé dire qu'il savoit la Cause de ces dénominations? Je dis moi que les voici decouvertes, et de plus Historiquement. *Tharé* a eu plusieurs noms; entre autre celui de *Tharé*, celui d' *Azar*, &c. Son nom patronimique est *Ouranos*, *Ouranos*; c'est en *Syrien* *Ourano*, *Ourien*, ou l'homme de *Our*. Rien de plus sensé, il y habitoit. *Reflex. Crit.* p. 63. *Kronos*, mot que les *Latins* ont traduit par *Saturnus*, en *Chaldeen* et en *Syrien* ne signifie-t-il pas encore l'homme de *Charan*, ou le *Charanien*? et ce *Charanien* est il autre qu' *Abraham*? Voilà donc encore l'origine, & l'origine indubitable du nom de *Kronos*. *Reflex.* p. 64. Les *Interpretes* conviennent presque tous que c'est le veritable nom de *Sara*, (*Iskah*.) ce nom est il bien éloigné de celui d' *Isis*? p. 88. Lorsque *Abraham* eut voulu sacrifier son fils, l'histoire scûe dans toute la contrée le fit appeller *Sadid*, en Arabe

Sesostris *. Whilst an Hypothesis more modern than all of these, and full as sanguine as any of them, denies both our Heroes themselves, and the whole Family of Heroic Divinities from them, to have had any real historical Age, or even Existence at all. Gives them neither a higher, nor a more substantial Pedigree, than the mere Corruptions, and Mistakes of the Hieroglyphic Language of Antiquity. Degrades them from once living and human, into a Set of merely ideal and figurative Personages. Makes them the Characters not of Men, but Things :

Arabe & en Phenicien ligatus. Mais Zeus est il Sadid ? oùi : & ceci même devient un denouement pour l'Histoire du Monde la plus Embarassante. Jus- qu'ici on a tiré Zeus de Ζεω brouillir, ou de Ζωω vivre. Mais enfin il restoit un scrupule ; Pour Zeus les anciens disoient aussi, Σδευς, ou même Δευς. Et ce Δευς pouvoit venir également de δεω ligo. Une marque même que ζεω dans les premiers tems de la Grece signifioit lier, c'est que de ce verbe inusité étoit descendu le diminutif ζωω, d'où ζωνν ζωωνν ceindre, en Latin Zona. Il est donc clair comme le Jour, que δεω a signifié ligatus, constrictus. Reflexi- ons Crit. Vol. I. p. 96. The same Author proves in much the same manner that Typhon is Jacob, and Ceres, Keturah, and Proserpine, a Daughter of Abra- ham by Keturah, so called because her Mother was of Beersheba—la Bersebonienne ou la Persephonienne—Persephone ou Proserpine est une femme prise dans le pais de Bersabée. Quoi de plus admirable ! p. 82, 83. Nothing, we see, can exceed the Saga- city of our Etymologist, except his Confidence.

* See Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. p. 192, 193, and elsewhere.

Things : Expressions only either of the Course of Time, and of certain annual Occurrences and Ceremonies amongst the *Egyptians* ; of the Order of public Festivals and religious Solemnities ; of the Regulations of civil Policy ; or the mere Course of human Labour and Industry in the Accommodation of common Life *.

I

* Toute la Société ayant un besoin extrême de régler l'ordre de ses jours, & de convenir des tems où il faut s'assembler, se reposer, ou travailler en commun, l'écriture Symbolique fut tout particulièrement utile à cet égard, par la commodité de quelques marques qui étant exposées en public, annonçoient les Fêtes & les Travaux d'une façon simple & uniforme. Histoire du Ciel. Tom. I. p. 60. On nommoit le soleil Osiris. Ce mot signifioit l'inspecteur, le Cocher ou le Conducteur, le Roi, le Guide, le Modérateur des astres, l'Ame du Monde, le Gouverneur de la Nature. Et c'est parce qu'on donnoit ce nom & cette Fonction au Soleil, qu'on exprima par la Figure d'un homme portant un Sceptre, p. 61, 62. & suiv. Ce Gouverneur purement Figuratif a été pris pour un homme qui avoit vécu sur la terre, & est pris pour un Dieu dans l'écriture qui reste sur les Monumens, p. 63. Quand on voulut signifier la terre qui enfante & nourrit toute chose, on choisit l'autre Sexe. La Femme qui est mere & nourrice étoit une image naturelle de la terre. Celle-ci fut donc peinte avec ses Productions sous la forme d'Isis, ou d'Isis. Ce Symbole étoit commode, parce que les changemens de la Nature, & les diverses productions de la terre, qui étoient sans doute le sujet des communes Actions de Graces, pouvoient aisément être exprimées par les divers Ornaments qu'on donnoit à cette femme, p. 68, & suiv. Les Égyptiens désignoient le Travail par la Figure d'un Enfant, qu'Osiris & Isis affectionnent, d'un fils bien-aimé qu'ils

I REMEMBER (said I) to have heard something of such an Hypothesis as you describe being lately published to the World by a *French* Author; which, with Allowance for that straining Humor which is inseparable from System, is not, I am told, ill defended. But pray what is the Foundation of this Scheme? for the Author, I suppose, would not oppose his single Judgment to the unanimous Sense of Mankind in this Affair, without some cogent Reasons for doing so. Let me hear what is his *Nostrum*,

qu'ils se plaisent à combler de biens. Ensuite par les différentes formes qu'ils faisoient prendre à cet enfant, ils exprimoient ingénieusement la Conduite, les opérations successives, les traverses, & les Succès du labourage. *Hist. du Ciel. p. 75. & suiv.*—La paix & la police parmi les citoyens apres les recoltes, & dans la joye qu'inspire le repos de l'hyver—voila le vrai sens de notre Symbol d'Harpocrate. *Hist. p. 92.* Le Peuple Egyptien prit peu a peu l'Osiris pour ce qu'il presentoit à l'oeil, c'est à dire pour un homme. Ils prirent Isis pour une Femme; & l'Enfant qu'elle nourrit pour un Enfant, pour le fils d'Osiris & d'Isis. —Prenant donc ces Figures au pié de la lettre, ils les regardèrent comme des Monumens de leur Histoire Nationale. *Hist. du Ciel. p. 133, 134.* Apres avoir trouvé dans l'abus des Figures symboliques prises pour des Objets reels, l'origine des habitans que l'Egypte a imaginés & placés dans le ciel, s'il se trouve encore que les Dieux des autres Nations, & les autres superstitions dont nous n'avons point parlé, soient une propagation sensible des Idées & des pratiques Egyptiennes, la Facilité de rappeler tant d'égaremens à un principe fort simple, fera voir de nouveau la justesse du principe, quoique dès a present il paroisse suffisamment démontré. *Hist. p. 146.*

strum, *Hortensius*, and upon what Principles does he erect his very new Explication of Theologic Antiquity?

UPON a Piece of false and exploded Philosophy (replied he) in the first Place, *Philemon* * ; then a Series of his own Visions ; and lastly a forced Testimony of several tortured Facts. But the whole, I should confess to you, supported by a copious Set of Eastern Etymologies, corresponding so exactly to his Purpose †, that one should hardly know how to withstand such a Weight of Evidence, were not the Nature of it a little suspicious, as having been sometimes known to prove equally on both sides of a Question ‡. But notwithstanding all I have been saying, *Philemon*, if you would consider this Author's Performance

* On a un assez bon nombre de preuves qui tendent à faire voir, que la raison naturelle pour laquelle la vie des hommes d'avant le Déluge étoit beaucoup plus longue que la nôtre, venoit de ce que le soleil ne quittant point alors l'Equateur, c'étoit une suite nécessaire que la température d'air fût uniforme, & la fécondité de la terre non-interrompue. Hist. p. 10.

† See Histoire du Ciel at large.

‡ Compare this Author's Derivation of the Name *Osiris*, from *Ochofi-erets* Dominium Terræ, with Monsieur *Fourmont*'s as above from *Hofcheiri*, l'habitant de Seir. Both different from the learned *Vossius*'s, from *Schichor*, or *Sior*, one of the Scripture Appellations of the River *Nile*. See Voss. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Vol. I. p. 692.

mance as, what it in strict Truth is, a mere ideal Amusement, or more learned kind of Romance, the Perusal of it, I believe, would not be unentertaining to you at some Leisure Hour. The Scheme is prettily enough fancied, and the Execution of it is conducted with a good deal of Art and Ingenuity.

So much the worse, (said I) *Hortensius*, in my Opinion. Art and Ingenuity, tho' they are no where perhaps better shewn, than in the Support of Paradoxes, are yet certainly most unpardonably misemployed, when they are exercised to such a purpose. One would wish every Author to be a dull one, whom one finds engaged in a false Cause; since going ingeniously wrong is too seldom found to be going singly so. But what, in the Name of Wonder, could tempt our Author, *Hortensius*, upon no better Grounds than you have represented, thus to set himself to refine away one of the seemingly plainest, and most strongly attested Facts in Antiquity? Surely a Man must have an uncommon Love of Paradox, to suppose the Pagan Altars were thus universally erected to *unknown Gods* *. Or, that the *Egyptians* in particular could so far lose the Meaning of a Language of their own composing, and which always continued to be in some
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* Acts xvii. 23.

degree of Use amongst them, as to mistake a Set of Hieroglyphical Representations, for so many proper historic Characters. A System of Emblems, Creatures altogether of their own Imaginations, for a Genealogy of Heroes ; of whom they had both circumstantial Records, and also, as you was observing, many visible Memorials in the several Cities called after their Names in *Egypt*, that they were all, as an ingenious Writer speaks upon a like Occasion, “ once fairly existing in this World *.”

THERE is moreover (returned he) this very unfortunate Circumstance for this Gentleman’s Hypothesis, preserved to us by some of the antient Writers, in the religious History of *Egypt* ; that the *Egyptians* were wholly Strangers to Images of human Form in the Furniture of their Temples, or Places of Worship †. From whence tis obvious to remark, that it could not be such an *Hieroglyphical Osiris* and *Isis* as is here supposed that gave Birth to the *Historical* ones.

But

* Author of the Inquiry into the Life, &c. of *Homer*.

† Μετα δε τα προπυλαια ο Νεως* ξοανον δ’εχων ουδεν, η ουκ ανθρωπομορφον, αλλα των αλογων ζωντινος* Strab. Geograph. lib. 17. p. 805. Ed. Casaub. Κακει γαρ αυτος μεν ο νεως καλλιστος τε, και μεγιστος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεσιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω και γραφαις διηνησμενος* ευδον δε ην ζητης του θεου, η πιθηκος εστιν, η ιβις, η τραγος, η αιλουρος* Lucian. Imag. p. 592. Edit. Bourd.

But that the *Osiris* and *Isis* whom the *Egyptians* worshipped must have been originally two proper *historical Personages*; whom they were used, as will be shewn more at large in its Place, to represent by Animal-Symbols, and not by human Figures. Till, in a Course of Time, Mythology, having invested them with many *physical* or *natural*, over and above their *historic* Characters, gave occasion to those Grotesque Representations of them in human Form, which occur so frequently in the *Egyptian* Monuments; and from whence our Author, I believe, took the Hint of his whole Hieroglyphic System. An Hypothesis, I may just observe, which he was the readier to espouse, as it flattered his over-great Delicacy in the Problem of the human Apotheosis, by affording him a less gross and offensive Solution of it, than that which is generally received. He could not think of letting Men run directly and all at once into so palpable an Absurdity in their Religion, and was therefore for bringing them about to the same End with somewhat more of Compass and Ceremony. And now, *Philemon*, having I think, in passing sufficiently established the general Historic Truth of our Heroes Characters, let us proceed, as we had began, with the more remarkable Particulars of them. They are recorded by the *Egyptians* to have been the first Ci-

vilizers of their Country both in a moral and natural Account. They reduced the savage Barbarity of their Times to a Sense of Humanity, Discipline, and public Order. They taught the Practice of Building, Agriculture, and Plantation, with the Preparation and Use of Bread-Corn, Wine, and Medicine, before unknown in *Egypt*. They made Laws for the Assignment of Property amongst their Countrymen, and for the Restraint of mutual Violence and Injustice, which they took care to have enforced by suitable Penalties annexed to the Breach of them. They were the general Promoters, or Incouragers of mechanic Ingenuity, and manual Arts; and of whatever had the Appearance in any Degree of a public Improvement *. At the same time their

Views

* Πρωτον μεν γαρ (Φασι του Οσιριου) παυσαι της αλληλοφαγίας το των ανθρωπων γενος· ευρουσης μεν Ισιδος του τε του πυρου και της κριθης καρπου (φυομενου μεν, ως ετυχε, κατα την χωραν μετα της αλλης βοτανης, αγνουμενου δε υπο των ανθρωπων) του δε Οσιριδος επινοησαμενου την τουτων κατεργασίαν των καρπων· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. i. p. 13. Ως δε τω Μηνι τουτω τω πρωτω γενομενω Βασιλει χερσου γεγονεναι το απειργμενον· τουτου μεν εν αυτω πολιν κτισσαι ταυτην, ήτις νυν Μεμφις καλεεται. Herod. lib. 2. cap. 99. Κησαι δε Φασι τους περι του Οσιριου πολιν εν τη Θηβαιδι τη κατ' Αιγυπτου εκατομυλιαν· Τους δε μεταγενεστερους αυτην ονομαζειν Διος πολιν, ενιους δε Θηδας. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 14. Φασι δ' Αιγυπτου την Ισιου Φαρμακων τε πολλων προς υγεια ευρετην

Views were not confined to *Egypt* alone ; but whilst *Isis*, with the Assistance of *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, a Person in great Esteem with them both, was appointed to preside in the Direction of Affairs at home, *Osiris*, with a Party of his Friends and Adherents, travelled much into foreign Parts ; every where, as he passed, circulating useful Arts, and Inventions for the Service of common Life ; leaving Traces behind him of his Humanity and public Spirit, and introducing a general Polish and Civility *. One would think,

ευρετην γεγυνηται, και της ιατρικης επιστημης μεγαλην εχειν εμπειριαν. Ibid. p. 22. Θειναι δε Φασι και νομους την Ισιν, καθ' ους αλληλοις διδομαι τους ανθρωπους το δικαιον, και της αδερμου Βιας και υβρεως παυσασθαι δια του απο της τιμωριαις Φοβου. Ibid. p. 13. Γενεσθαι δε Φιλογεωργου του Οσιριν, ευρετην δ' αυτου γενεσθαι της αμπελου, και την εργασιαν του ταυτης καρπου προσεπεινοησαντα, πρωτον οινου χρησασθαι, και διδασχαι τους αλλους ανθρωπους την τε φυτειαν της αμπελου, και την χρησην του οινου, και την συσκομιδην αυτου και τηρησιν. Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 14. Προτιμασθαι δε παρὰ τω Οσιριδι και τη Ισιδι τους τας τεχνας ανευρισκοντας, η μεθοδευσοντας τι των χρησιμων. διοπερ εν τη Θηβαιδι, χαλκουργειων ευρεθεντων και χρυσειων, οπλα τε κατασκευασασθαι δι' ων τα θηρια κλεινοντας, και την γην εργαζομενους, Φιλοτιμως εξημερωσαι την χωραν. Ibid. p. 14. Confer Plut. de Iside & Osiride p. 356.

* Του δ' ουν Φασι τα κατα την Αιγυπτου καταστησαντα, και την των όλων ηγεμονιαν Ισιδι τη γυναικι παραδοντα, ταυτη μεν παρακαταστησαι συμβουλου του Ερμην. Ibid. p. 15. Του δε Οσιριν λεγουσιν, ως

think, a Person of this Character should meet with no Enemies. But the Event proved otherwise. For after *Osiris* had governed some time in *Egypt* to the Satisfaction of all who wished well to their Country, his Brother *Typhon*, a Person of an undisciplined and turbulent Spirit, either thro' Envy of his Reputation, or upon some private Quarrel to his Person, formed a Design upon his Life; which, through the Help of a Faction he had ingaged to his Purpose, he soon found Opportunity to accomplish *. The Conduct of the Murder is somewhat differently related by Historians; but in all Accounts it stands attended with many aggravating Circumstances of additional Inhumanity †. The Loss

περ ευεργετικον οντα και Φιλοδοξον στατοπεδον μεγα συστησασθαι, διανοουμενον επελθειν ἅπασαν την οικου-
μενην, και διδασχαι το γενοσ των ανθρωπων την τε της
αμπελου φυτειαν, και του σπορου του τε πυρινου και
κριθινου καρπου· ὑβουλαμβανειν γαρ αυτου οτι παυ-
σας της αγριστητος τους ανθρωπους, και διαιτης ημερου
μεταλαβειν ποιησας, τιμων αθανατων τευξεται δια το
μεγεθος της ευεργεσιας. Ibid. p. 15.

* Φασι γαρ νομιμωσ Βασιλευοντα της Αιγυπτου
του Οσιριν ὑπο Τυφωνος αναιρεσθηναι του αδελφου, Βι-
αιου και ασεβοῦς οντος· Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. i. p. 18.

† Διελοντα (φασι τον Τυφωνα) το σωμα του Φουε-
θεντος εις ἑξ και εικοσι μερη δουναι των συν επιθεμενων
ἑκαστω μεριδα βουλομενον παλιν μετασχειν του μυσου,
και δια τουτο νομιζοντα συναγωνιστας ἑξειν και φυλα-
κας της Βασιλειας Βασιου . Ibid. p. 18. Του δε Οσιριδος

Loss of a Person so valuable to *Egypt* as *Osiris* raised a public Concern amongst the *Egyptians*, with a sutable Resentment against the guilty Instruments of his Death. *Ifis* immediately formed a Party on the behalf of herself, and her Son *Horus*, for the revenging her deceased Husband's Murder; and, having greatly the Advantage of Numbers in her Cause, brought *Typhon* and his Faction to their deserved Punishment *. *Osiris*, as the best Testimony of their Respect the *Egyptians* could now offer him, had Funeral Honors decreed him by the common Voice of his People; which were performed with all the Demonstrations of a national unfeigned Mourning. In the Celebration whereof, the Transports of public Reverence and Affection to his Memory ran so high, that the Ceremony of his Obsequies was concluded in that of his Apo-

εγκυβητῆσαι το σῶμα, καὶ κατασκευάσαντα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος λαρυνακὰ καλὴν καὶ πεκοσμημένην περιτῶς, εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον· ἡσθεντῶν δὲ (τῶν παρόντων) τῇ ὀφείκει φάρμακων, ὑποσχεσθαι τοῦ Τυφῶνα μετὰ παιδὸς, ὅς αὖν εγκατακλινθεὶς ἐξισωθεῖ, δίδουσι δῶρον αὐτῷ τὴν λαρυνακὰ· ἐμῶντα Ὀσίριν κατακλιθῆναι. Plut. de Is. & Od. p. 356.

* Τὴν δὲ Ἰσίην, ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ὀσιρίδος καὶ γυναικα, μετελθεῖν τὸν φόνον, συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς Ὠρόν· ἀνέλυσαν δὲ τοῦ Τυφῶνα, καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας, Βασιλεύσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. i. p. 18.

Apotheosis *. For from an unwillingness to relinquish all Interest at once in their favourite Hero, added, it may be, to some confused Tradition they had amongst them of a Life after Death, the *Egyptians* persuaded themselves upon this Occasion, that *Osiris* might yet have it in his Power (and then they could not doubt its being in his Inclination) to be propitious to his late-loved Country, in some secret way of Communication with it. They accordingly converted, as we may say, his Sepulchre into his Altar†.

And

* Την δε Ισιν (Φασι) αναζητειν το σωμα, εκ τουτου δε και πολλας ταφας Οσιριδος εν Αιγυπτῳ γενεσθαι· οί δε ου Φασιν· αλλα ειδωλα ποιουμενην διδουσαι καθ' ἑκαστην πολιν, ὡς το σωμα διδουσαν, ὅπως παρὰ πλειοσιν εχη τιμας. Plut. de Is. p. 358. Βουλομενην δε (Φασι την Ισιν) την τ' ανδρος ταφην αδηλου ποιησαι και τιμωμενην παρὰ πασι την Αιγυπτου κατοικοῦσι, συντελεσαι το δοξαν τοιουτω τινι τροπῳ· ἑκαστω των μερων περιπλασαι αυτην τυπον ανθρωποειδη εξ αρωματων και κηρου· εισκαλεσαμενην δε κατὰ γενη των ἱερεων, εξορκισαι παντας μηδενι δηλωσειν την δοθησομενην αυτοις πιστιν· κατ' ιδιαν δε ἑκαστοις ειπειν ὅτι μονοις εκεινοις παρατιθεναι την του σωματος ταφην· και των ευεργεσιων ὑπομνησασαν, παρακαλεσαι, θαψαντας εν τοις ἰδιοις τοποις το σωμα, τιμαν ὡς Θεου του Οσιριν. Diodor. Sic. p. 18. Εξ ανθρωπων εις Θεους μετασταντα του Οσιριν (Φασι) τυχειν ὑπο Ισιδος και Ἑρμου Θυσιων και των αλλων των επιφανεστατων Θεων τιμων. Dioid. loc. cit.

† Ευθεν αυτοις και οί των Θεων οικoi νεκρων ειναι ταφοι μνημονευονται. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 70.

And having made him the Offering there of their most affectionate Acknowledgments for his past Services, intreated of him the Continuance of his Favour towards them in such future Instances of his Assistance, as the Interests of *Egypt* might require. And as a farther Ingagement upon him to this purpose, they agreed to meet annually at his Tomb, at each periodical Return of the Season of his Interment; and to perform the like public Lamentations, as upon the present Occasion, to his injured Manes; renewing at the same time upon their Minds, by certain expressive Ceremonies, the Memory both of his Sufferings and Benefactions; and recognizing him for their Patron or Tutelar Demon by more solemn and explicate Acts of national Worship *. *Isis* lived some time after the De-

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* *Plutarch* informs us, that in the Island *Nisitane*, one of the Places which laid claim to the Interment of *Osiris*, 'Ενι καιρω τους ιερεις διαβαινοντας ευαγριζειν, και καταστεφειν το σημα μηδικης φυτου περισκικζομενον. De Is. & Os, p. 359. *Ægypti Incolæ* in adytis habent Idolum Osiridis sepultum hoc annuis luctibus plangunt. Jul. Firmic. de Error. prof. Rel. cap. 2. Και μνημην του παθους (Αδωνιδος) τυπλουνται τε εκαστου ετεος (οι Βυελιοι) και θρηνεουσιν, και σφισι μεγαλα πενθεα ανα την χωρην ισταται.— Εισι δε ενιοι Βυελιων οι λεγουσι παρα σφισι τεθαφθαι του Οσιριν του Αιγυπτιου· και τα πενθεα ουκ ες Αδωνιν, αλλ' ες Οσιριν πρησσεσθαι. *Lucian.* de Syr. Deâ, p. 1058.

cease of *Osiris*; and, continuing to indear herself all along to the *Egyptians* by a Series of repeated Kindnesses towards them, was upon her Death admitted to a Participation with him in his Divine Honors *. And from henceforth the annual Celebration of the funeral Rites of these two Deified Heroes became a standing Solemnity of the *Egyptian* Religion. This was the true Meaning and Origin of that σκυθρωπασμ^ο, as *Plutarch* very significantly terms it, gloomy and dismal Air, which some of the chief religious Ceremonies of *Egypt* carried with them †; and of the *Egyptians* performing many things in honor of their Gods resembling the common Practices at a Funeral ‡. Of which, when the once proper Humanity of these Divine Persons was thought necessary to be disowned or concealed, the Allegorists of Antiquity were put to so many Shifts and Refinements, to give any passable Reason and Solution,

* Την δε Ισιν Φασι μετα την Οσιριδος τελευτην διατελεσαι τον λοιπον του βίου χρονον Βασιλευουσαν ιομιμωτατα, και ταις εις τους αρχομενους ευεργεσιαις απαντας υπερβαλομενην· ομοιως δε και ταυτην μεταστασαν εξ ανθρωπων τυχειν αθανατων τιμων, *Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 18, 19.*

† Και διδωσιν ο καιρος υπονοιαν επι των καρπων τη αποκρυψει γενεσθαι του σκυθρωπασμον· *Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 378.*

‡ Πολλα θαπτουσιν ομοια και πενθουσιν επραϊτον. *Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 379.*

Solution, as the Times grew more knowing and sceptical *.

FOR their Comfort however (said I) *Hortensius*, they could frame no Solution so little defensible, as the true one, of this Matter. In which, by a kind of judicial Infatuation, as one might be almost tempted to suspect in the Case, upon the Institutors of the human Apotheosis, the Divinity of the two Heroes who were the most considerable Subjects of it, stood effectually disproved by the most important Article of their own Worship.

MOST evidently (returned he) it did so. And had the human Apotheosis been the Work of political Art and Contrivance, the Ritual of this Hero-worship would, no doubt, have been more happily constituted. But as it took place first in rude and unlightened Ages, the Simplicity of those Times deified its Heroes, just as it found them, with all the Circumstances of their Humanity about them; and had no suspicion of Consequences. But to proceed, *Philemon*, with the History of our two Deified Heroes; it being a general Persua-

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sion

* Ὡςπερ ἀμελεῖ καὶ τὸ δεικνυμένου αυτοῖς εἰδῶλεν ἀνδρῶπου τεθνηκότες ἐν κίβωτιω περιφερομένον οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑπομνήμα του περὶ Ὀσιρίδος παθούς, ἀλλ' οἰομένους παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρούσιν καὶ ἀπολαύειν, ὡς πάντας αὐτὰ καὶ μαλὰ τοιοῦτους ἐσόμενους. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 357.

sion in *Egypt*, as has been observed, that they had yet *somewhere* a more substantial Being, than in the Breasts of their Survivors, Curiosity naturally put the *Egyptians*, fond of dwelling as much as possible upon a favourite Subject, upon conjecturing *where*. And the Result of this Speculation was, to assign them their Residence in the two greater Lights of Heaven; these being, not only in themselves the noblest Scenes of Action they could imagine for them, but likewise, as might be thought, the most suitable ones at the same time to their distinct personal Characters *.

THIS was rather a piece of Compliment, (said I) I should think, at first, tho' afterwards it might by degrees grow up into serious Belief. It was a natural Topic of Panegyric, to say of *Osiris* and *Isis*, that they had been, as it were, another Sun and Moon to *Egypt*; had held forth in their Conduct a kind of reflex Image of the beneficent Virtues of those divine Luminaries. I am sensible Comparisons of this Nature will not relish in our modern Days, as having been the stale Subject of Compliment to considerable Persons with every cold

* Ὡς (Θεῶν ἐπιγείων) εἰσις Φασι καὶ Βασιλεῖς γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον· τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν μὲν ὁμῶνυμους ὑπαρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἥλιον Βασιλευσάιν τῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίον ὁμῶνυμον οὐτὰρ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστρῶ· Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12.13.

cold Invention from the most distant Memory. Mr. *Addison*, with his usual Delicacy of Ridicule, prettily rallies this trite Style of panegyriizing, in his second Dialogue of *the Usefulness of antient Medals*. “ There is scarce a great Man”, (says he) in that incomparably entertaining Piece, “ whom the Sun has shone upon, that “ has not been compared to him. I look “ on Similes as part of his Productions. I “ do not know, whether he raises Fruits “ or Flowers in greater Number” *. But when the Simile was new, *Hortensius*, it was by no means, I think, inelegant. And the considering our Heroes in such a Correspondency of Character, as is here supposed, to the two principal Luminaries of Heaven, might easily be improved into giving them a local Residence in them, as the Reward of their analogous Services to *Egypt*.

YOUR Fancy is not amiss (replied *Hortensius*) though, I must own, I chuse rather to abide by my own Account of this Matter. The *Egyptians*, I believe, used more the Language of the Eyes, than that of the Ears, for the Vehicle of their Heroes Praises. Their Mode of panegyriizing their deceased Benefactors seems rather to have been a kind of Dramatic Representation of their Services, than a Rhetorical Description

* *Addison's Works*, 4to. Ed. Vol. I. p. 492.

tion of them. To signify, for example, that *Isis* was the Inventress of Bread-corn in *Egypt*, they used to invoke her every Year over the first Reapings of their Harvest *. And in their devotional Solemnities to her Honor they shewed a Specimen of the Grain she had discovered for them, as the Register of their Obligations to her upon this account †. In the same *dramatic* Turn of Thinking, when they celebrated annually the Obsequies of *Osiris*, they carried about a Chest, the Representation of their Heroe's-Coffin ‡; as also certain Symbols of Husbandry and Plantation, to signify his having been the Introducer of these useful Arts among them ||. A Ceremony which subsisted in the Rituals of
antient

* Μαρτυριον δε φερουσι της ευρησεως των ειρημενων καρπων το τηρουμενον παρ' αυτοις εξ αρχαιων νομιμον· ετι γαρ και νυν, κατα τον θερεισμον, τους πρωτους αμνηντας σταχυς θεντας τους ανθρωπους, κοπτεσθαι πλησιου του δραγματος, και την Ισιν ανακλεισθαι· Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Παρ' ενιαις δε των πολεων και τοις Ιττειοις εν τη πομπη μετα των αλλων φερεσθαι πυθμενας πυρων και κριθων, απομνηματα των εξ αρχης τη θεω φιλοτεχνως ευρεθεντων· Diod. loc. cit.

‡ Ωσπερ αμελει και το δεικνυμενον αυτοις ειδωλον ανθρωπου τεθνηκοτος εν κιβωτιω περιφερομενον· K T A. Plut. de Isid. & Os. p. 357. Και την ιεραν κιστην οι στολισται και οι ιερεις εκφερουσι χρυσουν εντος· εχουσαν κιβωτιον· Ibid. p. 366.

|| The Van, and the Thyrsus used in the Bacchic Rites, which were originally the *Egyptian* ones to *Osiris*. See Plut. de Iside & Os. p. 364-5.

antient Paganism to its latest Periods ; tho', when the real Intendment of it was thought adviseable to be suppressed, it was contrived to resolve it into a mystical one. From which *dramatic Manner* of the *Egyptians* in the chief Offices of their Heroic Worship, it came to pass, as I conceive, that all the Capital Services of the antient Heroic Superstition in such other Pagan Nations as we are best acquainted with, were of the nature of a *Religious Drama* ; consisting for the most part of certain *μιμηματα*, *sensible Representations* of particular more remarkable Passages in the History and Adventures of the Patron Hero *. Of this kind, for example, were the Rites performed by the *Phœnicians* to *Adonis* and *Venus* ; by the *Phrygians* to *Attis* and *Cybele* ; the *Thracians* to *Bacchus* ; the *Cretans* to *Jupiter* ; the Inhabitants of *Samothrace* and *Lemnos* to the *Dii Cabiri* ;

and

* Ἡ δὲ τιμωρὸς Οὔριδος ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ οὐ περιεῖδε τοὺς ἀθλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὓς ἀνέτλη, καὶ πλανᾶς αὐτῆς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐργὰ σοφίας, πολλὰ δὲ αὐδρίας, ἀμνηστίαν ὑπολαβούσα καὶ σιωπῇ, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγνώταταις ἀναμιξάσα τελεταῖς, εἰκῶνας καὶ ὑπονοίας, καὶ μῖμημα τῶν τότε παθημάτων καθώσωσεν Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 361. Τὴν δὲ μητέρα τούτων (Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης) τοὺς ὄχλους θεοὺς τε νομίσαι, καὶ Βώμας ἰδρυσασθαι, καὶ ταῖς διὰ τῶν τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβαλῶν ἐνεργείαις, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἅπασιν ἀπομιμουμένοις τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν συμβαίνοντα, θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπονειμαί Di. Bib. Lib. III. p. 190. 191.

and by the People of *Sicily* and *Attica* to the same divine Persons under the more distinguished Appellations of *Ceres*, *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*.

YOU are then of opinion (interposed I) *Hortensius*, that the Mode of Worship with all these Countries was indeed *Egyptian*, but the Objects of it certain of their own local Gods.

I AM so, (resumed he) *Philemon*; and the general Account I would give of the matter is in few Words this. The several Nations we are here speaking of were, there is great Reason to think, at different times the Seats of certain originally *Egyptian* Colonies. These Colonies, no doubt, carried along with them the Religion of their Mother Country throughout the whole Course of their Migrations into foreign Parts. The Rites of *Osiris* and *Isis*, being a principal Article of this Religion, would of consequence be punctually observed by them, wherever they might chance to reside at the stated Periods of their Celebration. Now these Rites, as has been shewn, ran much upon the dramatic Strain. A Circumstance, which would naturally draw the Attention of such foreign Spectators of them, amongst whom they might at any time happen to be performed. The Novel Appearance of
these

these Solemnities would raise a strong Curiosity in their Observers to know what was the meaning of them. And being told, that the Celebraters of them came from *Egypt*, a Country, as they might have heard, much famed for the Wisdom of its Institutions; and that the Design of them was to do Honor to certain *Egyptian* Gods, by a dramatic Representation of the chief Passages of their once Mortal History; they would from hence probably take the Hint of this Religious Mimickry themselves, and dramatize, if one may so call it, after the *Egyptian* Mode; in the Worship of their own national Divinities.

BUT how (said I) do you reconcile this Account of things, *Hortensius*, which you have been here giving, with what you observed some time ago, of the antient Historians being unanimously agreed, that as well the chief Gods, as Worship of Paganism, came originally from *Egypt*?

I AM not aware (returned he) *Philemon*, that I have any such Assertion as this to answer for. What I observed to you upon the Testimony of the antient Historians was, that the *Egyptians* were esteemed the first of Mankind who used the sacred Names, τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, or, as it is elsewhere expressed by the same Author, (*Herodotus*) the θεῶν

επωνυμίας, usual characteristic Appellations under which the Pagans worshipped most of their chief Gods *; and who did moreover, as *Lucian* tells us, relate λογους ἱσους “Histories of Divine Persons.” And this they might very naturally be in-as-much as they were a People policed, and accommodated with the more necessary Arts of Life, (the Inventors whereof they had characteristically deified for their Recompence) from the most distant Memory of things in Pagan Antiquity. But it will by no means follow, that, because the *Egyptians* were for the most part the original Proprietors of the received *Characteristic Appellations* of the chief Pagan Gods, they were so likewise of their several Persons; These Appellations being rather specific than individual; Titles, as one may say, of Office, not merely Names of Men; and what might therefore be applied in common to *different* Persons, who in different Ages and Countries of the Pagan World had acted under a *competent Analogy* of Historic Character †.

To

* Δωδεκα τε θεων επωνυμίας ελεγον πρωτους Αιγυπτίους νομισαι, και Έλληνας παρα σφρων αναλαβειν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 4.

† Nam Joves plures in priscis Græcorum literis invenimus. ap. Cic. de Nat. Deorum Lib. 3. cap. 16. Volcani item Complures. ibid. cap. 22. Mercurius unus Cœlo patre, Die Matre natus. Alter Valentis et Coronidis Filius. Tertius Jove tertio natus et Maja. Quartus Nilo patre. Quintus, quem colunt Pheneatæ

To illustrate this Matter, *Philemon*, by a particular Instance—One of the Characteristic Appellations under which the *Egyptians* deified their favourite Goddess *Isis*, was that which the *Greeks* have pretty nearly preserved to us in their *Demeter*, and answers in our Language to *the Mother of Plenty* *. The Reason of giving this Appellation to her was her having taught the *Egyptians* the Art of sowing their

I 2 Lands.

Pheneatæ, qui Ægyptiis dicitur Leges et Literas tradidisse, ibid. cap. 22. Dianæ item plures—Venus Prima Cælo et Die nata. Altera Spumâ procreata. Tertia Jove nata et Dionâ. Quarta Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupfisse proditum est—Minerva prima, quam Apollinis Matrem supra diximus. Secunda orta Nilo quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt. Tertia illa, quam Jove generatam supra diximus. Quarta Jove nata et Coryphe. Quinta Pallantis Filia, &c. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. cap. 23. Jupiter igitur generali Regum omnium nomine accipitur. Voss. de Orig. & Prog. Idololatriæ, Lib. 1. cap. 14. Postea tot prope Neptuni, quot Principes Insulares: quod ex Poetarum fabulis, si ad historiam eas referamus, non obscure cognoscitur. Ac præter istos et Continenti fuere Neptuni sui: in his principes, qui arte equestri excellerent. Voss. Lib. 1. cap. 15. Saturnos dictos, qui nobilium Regum Vetustissimi condiderunt Urbes et Populos. Ac proinde non unum sed Plures fuisse Saturnos; quorum Patres Cæli, Filii vero Joves. Nomina igitur hæc fuerunt dignitatis—Analogæ, potius quam Æquivocæ. Xen. de Equivoc. ap. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 180. Hinc tot Cæli, Saturni, Joves, Hercules, Rheæ, Tellures, Vestæ, Junones, ob facinorum quæ perpetrarunt Similitudinem. Kirch. Œd. Ægypt. p. 180, 181.

* Dimitir.

Lands. Some Ages afterwards *Ceres*, having done the same thing to the People of *Attica* in *Greece*, when she came to be deified there, went under the same common Denomination with the *Egyptian Isis*. And this is what the *Greek* Writers mean, when they speak of *Isis* and *Ceres* as the same Goddesses *. Not personally such to be sure, for in this respect, their Histories, as related by the same Writers, put a notorious Difference between them †: But merely (to say nothing here of their united *Physical* Characters in Antiquity) in a *Theological* Conception of them; as being worshipped by the different Countries in which they lived upon the same common Reasons of Apotheosis; the one, as has been already observed, having introduced into *Attica*, what the other had before into *Egypt*, the three invaluable Blessings of Corn, Property, and Legislation. So

* *Ισις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτης.* Herod. Lib. II. cap. 59. Καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ὀσίριν Φασι μεθερμηκευομένου εἶναι Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν εὐχίστα πῶς Δημήτραν. Diod. Sic. Lib. I. p. 13.

† Μετὰ δὲ τῆς κορῆς ἄρπαγην μετολογουσι τὴν Δημήτραν μὴ δύναμεν εὖρεῖν τὴν Ξυγαστρα, λαμπαδάς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτῶν κρατηρῶν ἀναψαμένην, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης. Τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μαλίστα ταύτην προσδέξαμενους εὐεργετήσαι, τοῦ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδωροῦσαμένην. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 288. The Distresses we find, of *Ceres* were wholly occasioned by the Rape of a favorite Daughter; Whereas those of *Isis* were all upon account of the Murder of her Husband.

So that upon the whole (said I) the *επωνυμιαι*, or Head-Characters only, of the Heroic-Theology of the *Greeks*, was all that was properly *Egyptian*; the Subjects of the Apotheosis with them being no other, for the most part, than such of their own Heroes, who had taught them the first simpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

UNLESS (returned he) to their *Theologic-Characters* borrowed, as we say, from their synonymous *Egyptian* Predecessors in the Apotheosis, we may add sometimes a few Circumstances of History derived to them from the same Quarter. For the *Greeks*, we know, were not over-nice in the Chronology of their Heroic-Divinities; but in order to do honor to their Reputation would plunder any Age or Country for the Materials of it *. In the mean time, to return once more to the sacred Affairs of *Egypt*—The *Demonism*, as has been related, of *Osiris* and *Isis*, or in other Words their posthumous Superintendence over the Interests of their Country, being once believed and established there; a like Persuasion would soon come to obtain of such

* Hic enim veterum mos erat, quo magis admirandæ essent Virtutes eorum quos in Deos retulissent, varios Eximie Virtutis in unum conflare, unique omnium Gesta attribueret, quod difficile non erat in rebus ab Ætate suâ remotis, et gestis in Terrâ longe diffitis. Voss. de Orig. et Prog. Idol. Lib. 1. cap. 19.

such other departed Persons, as had been of any considerable Eminence in their Generations. And Death, as we have seen in the Case of their two principal Heroes, being looked upon by the *Egyptians* as a Change of Scene only, not of Manners or Disposition; hence it became a general Practice with them to deify their favorite Dead under that *particular Character* of *Usefulness* which they had sustained whilst living. And accordingly the several deified Inventors of the more necessary Arts of Life were considered by them after their Decease as the especial Patron Gods of their own personal Inventions. As in the Case of the *Egyptian Vulcan, Vesta, Diana, Mercury*, and almost every other principal Character of the Heroic Divinity; excepting that of *Neptune*, as *Herodotus* seems to have thought; a Deity, to whom from their religious Aversion to the Sea, and being, in the first Settlement of their Empire at least, no great Sailors, they gave little or no Share of their devout Regards. And indeed so prevailing was the Opinion with them, of the chief Qualities of the *Hero* subsisting in the *Demon*, that even *Typhon* himself had by this means a Place in their System of Deity; the *Egyptians*, tho' they hated his Memory, yet dreading his Malice, and accordingly endeavoring to divert or appease it by such deprecatory Rites of Worship,

as they conceived most suitable to the supposed pestilent Humor of this mischievous Divinity.

'Tis upon these Grounds (said I) *Hortensius*, as I suppose, that the Antients have been led to express their Idea of Superstition under the Word *δεισιδαιμονια*, *disidemonism*, as we may call it, or the unreasonable and extravagant Fear of Demons.

UNDOUBTEDLY; (replied he) and when you consider, *Philemon*, that the Heroic Apotheosis with the antient Pagans was indeed nothing more, than translating in any particular Instance the *human Character* into the *Divine one*; you will from hence easily observe, that as well the Faults, as Excellencies, of every such Character, would naturally accompany the Proprietor of it into his *Deified*, or *Demon-State*; and the Imperfections of the *Man* make a Part of the Idea of the *God*. From which low and groveling Conception of their Divinities, such abject and illiberal Services must of course, with all weaker and more devout Tempers especially, enter into the Worship of them, that one cannot wonder the Antients should make that their Head Character of false Practice in Religion, which they would necessarily find to be one of the capital

capital Sources of it ; *Disdemonism*, as your Expression is, or an anxious Sollicitude to please certain supposed Demon Powers.

Now we are upon this Subject (interrupted I) *Hortensius*, there is a favorite Passage of mine in *Lucian's* Treatise of Sacrifices, which owes, I have often thought, its chief Force and Elegancy to a kind of *Lusus* upon this antient Character of Superstition. “ There is scarce any Man, “ (says the Author) to be met with, I “ should imagine, so thorowly disinclined “ to Mirth, but must be provoked to laugh “ at some of the popular Ceremonies of “ Religion. But before he would venture “ to laugh in a Subject supposed so serious, “ he would be apt to ask himself, whether “ it really was *such* ? and whether the “ Zealots in these unworthy Sacra could “ deserve to be called *εὐσεβείς*, *Pious Persons*, or were not more properly, *ἄεῖς* “ *εὐθροὺς καὶ κακοδαίμονας* ? not in an *active* Use of the Words here, as his Translator coldly represents him, “ *Diis* “ *inimicos, atque infelices ac Genios Ma-* “ *los* ;” but in a much more emphatical and *passive* one; “ Persons under the *Dis-* “ *pleasure and judicial Infatuation* of the “ Gods, rather than ingaged in the *Wor-* “ *ship* of them”, or, as we might say,
“ *Demo-*

“ *Demoniacs* instead of *Demonists* in the “ Offices of their Devotion.” For this I take to be the true Idea of the Place; which I the rather incline to espouse, as it gives a more pointed and ludicrously satiric Turn to the whole Sentiment, agreeably to the known Manner of this witty and sceptical Writer *.

K

YOUR

* Ἄ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις οἱ ματαῖοι πράττουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καὶ προσodoῖς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἃ αἰτοῦσι, καὶ ἃ εὐχονται, καὶ ἃ γινώσκουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ τις οὕτω κατῆφης ἐστὶ καὶ λελυπημένος, ὅστις οὐ γελασεται, τὴν ἀβελτηρίαν ἐπιβλεψας τῶν ὀρωμένων· καὶ πολὺ γε οἶμαι προτέρου τοῦ γελαῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξετάσει, ποτέρου εὐσεβεῖς αὐτοὺς χρὴ καλεῖν, ἢ τουναντίον θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ κακοδαίμονας, οἷγε οὕτω ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀγενεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπειληφασιν, ὥστε εἶναι ἀνθρώπων εὐδееς, καὶ κολαζομένου ἡδέσθαι, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ἀμελουμένον; *Lucian de Sacrificiis*, p. 182. Edit. Bourd.—Compare with this Passage from *Lucian* the following ones from *Aristophanes*.

Εἰτα τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν βυρσοδεψὴν Παφλαγονά
 Ἦνιχ’ ἤρεισθε στρατηγόν, τὰς ὄφρυς συνηγόμεν,
 Κα’ ποιοῦμεν δεινά. In *Nub.* p. 160. Edit. Bifet.

Blepsid. Μῶν οὐ κεκλοφας, ἀλλ’ ἤρπακας;
 Chremyl. Κακοδαίμονᾶς. In *Plut.* p. 40.

Chremyl. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ βίος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διακείται,

Τίς αὖ οὐκ ἤγοιτ’ εἶναι μανίαν, κακοδαίμονιαν τ’ ἐτι μᾶλλον. In *Plut.* p. 52.

YOUR Correction here, (resumed *Hortensius*) may very probably be a just one; the Thought is certainly improved by it. But at present we have other Affairs upon our hands, than critical Disquisitions. We have already, you know, considered the *same Theologic-Character* as subsisting in very *different Persons*; let us now, in passing, turn the Tables a while, and consider the *same Person*, as sometimes vested with very *different Theologic-Characters*. We have the Testimony of *Plutarch*, that the *Minerva* of *Sais* in *Egypt*, where was her Temple, you know, with the so much famed Inscription, was esteemed to be the same Person with *Isis* *. And we are told by *Herodotus*, that the chief Festival of this *Minerva* was that of the *λυχνοκαίη*, the *Festival of Lamps*; celebrated by a public Illumination of the City of *Sais* by Vessels of lighted Oil †. If we lay these Observations together, and withal recollect what has been remarked of the generally *dramatic Turn* of the *Egyptian Sacra*, we shall perhaps find Reason to conclude, that the *Minerva* we are speaking of was only *Isis* under a more *detached* and *particularized*

* Το δ' εν Σαι της Αθηνᾶς (ἢν Ἰσις νομιζουσιν) ἔδος επιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαυτήν. Ἐγὼ εἶμι Κ· Τ· Α·
Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 354.

† Vide Herod. Lib. II. cap. 62.

rized Idea of her ; as the Person who taught the *Egyptians* the Plantation of the Olive Tree, and the use of Oil for Artificial Lights to supply the Absences of the Sun. And as *Isis* is thus abundantly confirmed to us to have been the *Minerva* of the *Egyptians*, I have sometimes been inclined to suspect she was their *Venus* likewise. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* all agree to inform us, that the *Egyptians* were no Strangers to this Goddess. *Plutarch* represents her as the Wife of *Typhon*. But had she really stood in this Relation to a Person so generally hated in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*, I am apt to think, would hardly have afforded her so mild a Character of Divinity, as is here supposed. I am rather therefore for considering *Venus*, as I have said, as the divine Character of *Isis*, in quality of the great Mother of her Country ; or as the Person, who by her Assistance to *Osiris* in forming the *Egyptians* into Society, and giving them salutary Laws and Discipline, had laid the Grounds and Foundation of their national Strength and Populousness : As, in the same way of Thinking, her Husband, I persuade myself, was considered by the *Egyptians*, as the Father of his Country, in the obscene Ceremony of the *Phallegphoria* ; a Practice probably, in its first Institution, emblematically commemorative of *Osiris*, the great Founder of

the *Egyptian* Polity, under this distinguished Notion or Regard *.

Is then (said I) the chaste and continent *Isis*, the very Model, as she is usually represented, of conjugal Affection and Fidelity, reduced at last to the Diffoluteness of a *Venus*, one of the loosest Characters in all Sacred Antiquity, and chief Scandals of Religious Paganism?

POSSIBLY (returned he) the Character might not originally be so scandalous as you seem to apprehend. How do you know, but the more disreputable Parts of it may have been the Additions of After-Ages, and owing to the Misconducts of some later Subjects of it, than the Person we are at present concerned with? tho', should you insist upon it after all, *Philemon*, that a certain Mixture of Intrigue is absolutely necessary to the Idea of a *Venus*, a Critic in Reputations might, for aught I know, find Grounds of Suspicion even against *Isis* herself. This at least is pretty remarkable in her History, that during the Absence of *Osiris* from his Kingdom, a Season, one would think, of all others the fittest for a Rebellion against him to break out

* Ἑλλήσει γὰρ ὅη Μελαμπους ἐστὶ δέξιπλοκαμεινος τοῦ Διουσσοῦ τοιωμα, καὶ τὴν θυσιην, καὶ τὴν Πρωπην τοῦ Φαλλοῦ. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 144.

out in, we hear nothing of *Typhon* and his Faction. All, it seems, went well and peaceably in *Egypt*, so long as *Isis* was the supreme Manager there *. Might not one be tempted to suspect here, that the Charms of her Person were the Security of her Government? and that Love was the great soothing Power which could thus effectually compose the restless Turbulency of Ambition? a Suspicion, which is increased by what *Plutarch* reports to us, of the unjustifiable Partiality of *Isis* towards *Typhon*, even after his having been the Murderer of *Osiris*; when, upon *Horus*'s delivering him up to her as his Captive, she was prevailed upon to give him his Liberty †. You see, *Philemon*, there is need of some Candor to believe, that even the continent *Isis*, as you call her, was wholly proof against certain tender Failings; and, however affectionate she is represented to have been to the Memory of her Husband, had not taken some modish Freedoms in his Life-time.

BUT

* Ὅστερον δὲ γῆν παύσαν ἡμεροῦμενον ἐπελθεῖν (Ὀσίριον) Τυφῶνα δὲ ἅπαντος μὲν οὐδὲν νεωτερίζειν, δια-
το τὴν Ἰσιν εὖ μάλα φυλαττέσθαι καὶ προσεχεῖν ἐφ-
κρατῶς ἐχούσαν· ἐπαυελθούτι δὲ δόλου μηχανασθαι.
Plut. de Is. & Os. p 356.

† Τὴν μὲν οὖν μάχην ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας γενε-
σθαι, καὶ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ὀρὸν· τοῦ Τυφῶνα δὲ τῇ Ἰσιν
δεδεμένον παραλαβούσαν οὐκ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῦσαι

BUT the *Egyptians* (said I) I suppose, were not over-scrupulous in Characters: or at least their Gratitude was too strong for their Censoriousness; and they could easily overlook a few Slips in Conduct, in a Person of *Isis's* extraordinary Usefulness and Beneficence.

I SEE (resumed he) *Philemon*, you are no Friend to *Isis* in the Capacity of a *Venus*; I will therefore change the Scene for you, and introduce her to your Acquaintance under a Character, you will probably have less Exception to, that of the *Egyptian Rhea*, or *Mother of the Gods*. The Manner of representing this Divine Personage in a neighbouring Country to *Egypt*, was, as we learn from *Lucian* in his Account of the Goddesses of *Hierapolis* in *Syria*, under the Image of a Woman wearing a Turret, or Crown resembling the Fashion of a Tower, upon her Head; and supported by Lions*. *Virgil's Cybele*, you know, is also *turrita*, and seated in a Chariot drawn, we are to suppose, by the same kind of Ani-

και μεθειναι· του δε Ὄρου ου μετριως ενείκειν, αλλ' επιβαλόντα τη μητρι τας χειρας αποσπασσαι της κεφαλῆς το Βασιλειον· Plut. de Isid. & Os. p. 358.

* Σημῆνια δὲ ἡ θεὸς τὰ πολλὰ ἐς Πηνυ ἀπικέσεται· λεόντες γὰρ μιν φέρουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πυργόφορεσι, ὅκοινη Πηνυ ἄνδρες ποιοῦσι. Lucian. de Syr. Deâ p. 1062.

Animals *. Whoever was the strict Personal Subject of this Representation, I cannot help being of Opinion, the Thought of it, as one may say, was altogether *Egyptian* : And that the Turret and Lions were Emblems first made use of in *Egypt*, as often as *Isis* was considered there as a Patroness of Building and political Association ; one very important Consequence whereof to Mankind was, either taming the Fierceness, or guarding against the Injuries, of the more dangerous Species of Wild Beasts. That she should be styled a *Mother of Gods* can be no Mystery, if we reflect that she seems to have led the Way in those Inventions of more civilized Life, which gave the first Grounds of Apotheosis to their several reputed Authors. Not to add, that some of these Deified Artists were probably in a literal Sense her Children. So that the Idea which *Isis* gives of herself to *Lucius* in *Apuleius*, upon his addressing her to restore him to his Humanity, has possibly a great deal of Theological, though but little Historic Truth in it ; when she tells him, “ She is that Goddess, whom all Nations worship under different Views of her Character. That the original Natives of *Phrygia* called her *Pessinuntica*, and the Mother of the “ Gods.

* ————— Qualis Berecynthia Mater
Invehitur Curru Phrygiæ turrata per Urbes
Læta Deum Parta, Virg.

“ Gods. Those of *Attica*, the *Cecropian*
 “ *Minerva*. The People of *Cyprus*, the
 “ *Venus of Paphos*. Those of *Crete*, *Diana*
 “ *Dictynna*, or the Inventress of the Hunt-
 “ ing-Net. The *Sicilians*, *Proserpine*. The
 “ *Eleusinians*, *Ceres*. Others, *Juno*. Others,
 “ *Bellona*. Those, *Hecate*. These, *Rham-*
 “ *nusia*. But the *Egyptians* only had her true
 “ Name, which was that of *the Queen Isis**.”

To consider her again, *Philemon*, under which her more ascertained Appellation — We left her, you know, in her departed or Demon-state, removed by the fond Gratitude of her Survivors from Earth to Heaven, and residing in their Imaginations in the Orb of the Moon; whilst the Soul of *Osiris* was received, it was conjectured, into that of the Sun. Afterwards, when the *Egyptians* had applied themselves to astronomical Observations, and it was remarked by them, that the Heliacal rising of the Star *Sothis*, which the *Greeks* called by the Name of *Astrocyon*, or the Dog-Star, always preceded, and seemed, as it were,

to

* Cujus numen unicum multiformi Specie, ritu vario, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Pessinunticam nominant Deum Matrem. Hinc Antiochones Attici Cecropiam Minervam. Illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem. Cretes Sagittiferi Dictymnam Dianam. Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam. Eleusinii Vetusnam Deam Cererem. Junonem alii. Bellonam alii. Hecatē isti. Rhamnusiā illi. Egyptii vero nomine appellant Reginam Isidem. Apul. Met. Lib. II. prop. Init.

to announce to them, the approaching annual Increase of their *Nile*, they made *Isis* the Compliment of supposing her to reside in *Sothis*, as well as in the Moon; and to be the influencing Cause of that kind Admonition, which they yearly received from this useful Luminary *. *Diodorus* informs us, that some of the antient *Greek* Mythologists called *Osiris* by the Name of *Sirius*, or the Dog Star; from whence 'tis not improbable, but the *Egyptians* had given him, as well as his Confort, a Part in the good Offices of this their Celestial Monitor †. And in general, we may observe here once for all, that the Deification of the antient Heroes usually passed under the Notion of their inhabiting particular Stars ‡; whose

L Names

* *Ισις δε πάρ' αυτοις εστιν αστηρ, Αιγυπτιστι καλουμενος Σωθις, Έλληνιστι δε Αστροκυων* Horap. Hierogl. Lib. 1. Hierog. 3. *Λεγουσιν οι ιερεις καλεισθαι Κυνα μεν την Ισιδος (ψυχην) υπ' Έλληνων, υπ' Αιγυπτίων δε Σωθιν* Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 359. *Οτε αρα η μεν ανατελλει το αστρον ο κυων, συνανισχει αρα δε αυτω τροπου τινα και ο Νειλος, και αναχειται περι τας αρουρας.* Ælian. Hist. Animal. Lib. X. cap. 45. *Των τε αστερων του σειριου Ισιδος νομιζουσι, υδραγωγον οντα.* Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 366.

† *Των δε παρ' Έλληνιν παλαιων μυθολογων τινες του Οσιριου σειριου επανομαζουσι* Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. pag. 11.

‡ *Ου μόνον δε τουτων οι ιερεις λεγουσιν, αλλα και των αλλων θεων τα μεν σωματα παρ' αυτοις κεισθαι καμουντα, και θεραπευσθαι, τας δε ψυχας εν Ουρανω λαμπειν αστρα.* Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 359.

Names they from thenceforth took themselves, and often returned the Favour in kind, by giving them their own personal ones, whilst upon Earth, in requital. And thus Hero-worship became as it were ingrafted upon Luminary-worship; which in time produced frequently, as will hereafter be explained, such a total Confusion of the civil, with the natural Gods of the antient Pagans, as to make it extremely difficult to determine with any Degree of Satisfaction to oneself what Part of their religious Ritual had relation to one Sort of Divinities, and what to the other. Of which no one can want a sufficient Conviction, who will be at the pains of informing himself, with what puzzled Industry *Vossius*, and other learned Writers upon the Theology of the Antients, have labored in this imbarassed Subject.— But here, *Philemon*, let me prepare you a little for a very considerable Change of Scene, which in the Course of our Speculation you are now to expect from me. Inasmuch as, from having carried up your Thoughts to the celestial Regions, as the happy Residence of the departed *Osiris*, and *Isis*, I am next to bring you acquainted with them under a Conception more degrading, than even their late *human* State; I mean, “ as inhabiting the Forms of certain
“ Brute-Animals, some of the least honor-
“ able,

“ able, and reptile Species themselves, in
 “ time not excepted *.”

A CHANGE of Scene, (interposed I) it must be owned, not a little disadvantageous this to the Parties concerned in it. But whatever Objections they might have to make to such a reduced Situation of Divinity, I assure you I have none to attending them in it; as it promises to lead you into the Article of the Symbolic-Theology of the *Egyptians*; under which Head, you know, you are to let me a little into the general Notion of their celebrated *Hieroglyphics*. A Point, I am impatient to have you speak to.

As far (replied he) as we have at present any concern with this Matter, that is, as far as the *Hieroglyphics* stand connected with the symbolic or animal Worship of *Egypt*, I will give you the best Account of them that I can. For a nice and critical Disquisition of the *Hieroglyphic* Science, besides that the Subject itself is not a little dark and perplexed, and would moreover too much divert our Thoughts from what they

L 2

are

* When *Osiris* and *Isis* came to be confounded with the Sun and Moon, which gave them an Interest in all those different kinds of consecrated Animals which were considered as Symbols of these Luminaries.

are here principally ingaged in ; I have the less Reason, as well as Inclination to attempt this, as I have good Grounds to believe it has already fallen into much abler Hands ; and makes part of a Work shortly to be expected from the Press, the Second Volume of “ the Divine Legation of “ *Moses* demonstrated, &c.” For our purpose then, *Philemon*, I begin with observing to you, that, before the Introduction of Alphabetic Characters into the World, the best way Men could think of to signify to each other their Thoughts in Writing was, either “ by a direct Picture, wherever that “ was practicable, of the Object they had “ occasion to describe,” or in other Cases “ by substituting visible Objects for invisible “ ones, in the way of Emblem or natural “ Symbol.” For the Practice of writing by immediate Picture, the bare mention is a sufficient Explication of it. For the other Method, I know not how better to represent it to you, than by reading you a Passage out of *Diodorus Siculus* upon this Subject, if you will trouble your self to reach me down that Author from behind you. — ’Tis here in the fourth Book of his *Historical Library*. — “ But now (says “ he) I am to take notice of the *Ethiopic* “ Characters, called by the *Egyptians*, “ *Hieroglyphics*. For the Make or Fashion “ of

“ of them, they resemble the Forms of all
 “ sorts of Animals ; certain of the Parts
 “ or Members of the human Body ; as
 “ likewise different kinds of Mechanical
 “ Instruments. For the Manner of Writ-
 “ ing with the People I am speaking of is
 “ not *by Words*, but *Things*, which have
 “ their *tropical* Senses habitually affixed to
 “ them in the Memory. Thus they de-
 “ lineate a Hawk, a Crocodile, and a Ser-
 “ pent ; A Man’s Eye, Hand, and Face ;
 “ With other Representations of a like
 “ nature. By a Hawk, which is a Bird
 “ of remarkably *swift Flight*, they signify
 “ *Swiftness*, or *Expedition at large*. Which
 “ Quality, in the Thing or Person under
 “ Consideration with them, is by Use al-
 “ most as readily suggested to their Minds
 “ by the Figure of this Animal, as if it
 “ had been expressed to them in Words.
 “ So a Crocodile is the Emblem of Ma-
 “ lice. The Eye of Justice and Vigilance.
 “ The Right Hand with the Fingers ex-
 “ tended of Gain. The Left Hand closed
 “ of Frugality. And the like is to be un-
 “ derstood of all their other Marks. For
 “ following with the Mind the *natural*
 “ *Significancy* of each Object, and having
 “ their Memory and Attention *well exer-*
 “ *cised* to this purpose, they come by de-
 “ grees to a ready and immediate Appre-
 “ hension

“ henfion of whatever is this way expreffed
 “ to them * ”. You cannot but remark
 here, *Philemon*, (continued he) that the
 Historian all along represents it as the
 Work of Time and Pains to acquire a Fa-
 cility at Underftanding this Emblem Lan-
 guage. And indeed the obvious Imper-
 fection in every refpect of the emblematic
 Charaéter, compared with the way of
 Writing by Letters of an Alphabet, is to
 me fuch a *natural* Demonftration, that
Hieroglyphics, as I faid before, “ were both
 “ prior in the Order of Time to *Letters*,
 “ and

* Περὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων, τῶν παρ’
 Αἰγυπτίοις καλουμένων ἱερογλυφικῶν, ρητὸν· συμβε-
 βῆκε τοῖσιν τοὺς μὲν τυποὺς ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν ὁμοίους
 ζωῶν παντοδαποῖς, καὶ ακροτηρίοις ἀνθρώπων, ἐτι
 δ’ ὄρκανοις, καὶ μαλίστα τεκτονικοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς
 τῶν συλλαβῶν συνθεσῆς ἡ γραμματικὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς
 τοῦ ὑποκειμένου λόγου ἀποδίδωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐμφασῆς
 τῶν μεταγραφομένων, καὶ μεταφορᾶς μνημῆ συνηθλη-
 μένης· γραφοῦσι γὰρ ἱέρακα, καὶ κροκοδείλου, ἐτι δ’
 ὄφιν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφθαλ-
 μόν, καὶ χεῖρα, καὶ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα·
 ὃ μὲν οὖν ἱέραξ αὐτοῖς σημαίνει πάντα τὰ ὀξέως γε-
 νομένα, διό το ζῶον τοῦτο τῶν πῆλινων σχεδὸν ὑπάρ-
 χειν ὀξύτατον· μεταφέρεται τε ὁ λόγος ταῖς οἰκειαῖς
 μεταφοραῖς εἰς πάντα τὰ ὀξεᾶ, καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις οἰ-
 κεία, παρὰ πλῆσιώς τοῖς εἰρημένοισι——Ταῖς γὰρ ἐν
 ἑκάστοις ἐνοῦσαις ἐμφασεσι συνακολουθεῦντες, καὶ με-
 λῆτη πολυχρόνιῳ καὶ μνημῆ γυμναζούντες τὰς ψυχὰς,
 ἐκτικῶς ἑκάστα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀναγινώσκουσι·
 Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. III. p. 145.

“ and introduced at first merely for want
 “ of them,” that did not the wildest
 Whimfies sometimes find their serious Abet-
 ters, even amongst Persons otherwise of good
 Understanding, I should be tempted to
 wonder, how the contrary Opinion to this
 could ever have met with any sensible Ad-
 vocate. Yet so it has proved, *Philemon* ;
 “ and the comparative necessary Imperfec-
 “ tion of Picture, to literary Characters—
 “ their want of Verbs and connective Par-
 “ ticles—the supposed inaccurate Way of
 “ writing them in the first Ages, easily
 “ open to Mistakes of their Meaning—
 “ the observed Intermixture of both sorts
 “ of Characters in remaining *Egyptian*
 “ Monuments, the one inserted to help
 “ out the defective Senses of the other—
 “ (all of which I cannot but think strong
 “ Arguments of Letters being *less antient*,
 “ because so much *more useful* than *Hie-*
 “ *roglyphics*”) are by an Author of no less
 Distinction than the knowing and ingenious
 Mr. *Shuckford*, in his “ Connection of the
 “ Sacred and Profane History” produced
 as Evidences on the quite opposite side of
 this Question *. In such very different
 Lights do different Persons see the same
 Objects! One farther Instance of which,
 with regard to myself and this Writer,
 (for whom nevertheless I have a just Esteem)
 I

* See Shuck. Con. vol. II. p. 295-6.

I cannot help remarking here, because it seems to me a very extraordinary one. “ The Men of the first Ages (says he) “ could much sooner invent and learn a “ *rude Character*, than they could acquire “ Art enough to draw Pictures. And “ therefore such a Character, ’tis most probable, was first invented and made use “ of *.” As if the mere Easiness of the Writing or Figuring part was all that was here to be considered, and not rather, and principally, the Easiness of the Understanding. For in this View surely, the Picture of an Animal distinguished by some remarkable Quality, tho’ ever so *ill drawn*, would at least bid *fairer* to suggest to Mens Minds the Idea of that Quality, than a merely *arbitrary* Mark of the same Quality can be supposed to do : The one kind of Substitute relying wholly for its interpretation upon unassisted Memory ; the other, (though I deny not but it was liable to be sometimes mistaken) having generally, as we may say, Nature, as well as Art, on its side ; something of an *inherent Significance* in it ; an Aptness of itself to point out its particular Meaning.

THIS is a strong Instance (I interrupted) *Hortensius*, of what I remember to have often heard you complain of, “ Mens interpreting

* See Shuck. Con. vol, II. p. 296.

“ interpreting Antiquity by modern Ideas.” And it shews evidently the falseness of this Rule of Interpretation. The Author probably had his Eye upon Alphabetic Writing in his own time; of which though the Use be wholly founded in Memory, yet we are apt to think but meanly of a Man’s Attainments, who is at a loss to read and understand his own Mother Tongue at least. And yet when one considers how much time it actually takes up to teach a Child, or an absolutely ignorant grown Person, the *due* Use of his Letters, even *now* that the Marks of them are ready formed to his hands, with a Compendium which some have thought super-natural — that Instruction this way is reduced to Rule and Method — and moreover that Language itself is contrived with much artificial Assistance to the Memory in the mechanical Structure and Composition of it — If this, I say, be well considered, *Hortensius*, one shall have but little to expect from an artless Multiplication of *rude Characters*, in equally rude Ages, towards carrying on any competent degree of literary Commerce amongst Mankind. In which way of Thinking one is not a little confirmed by reflecting, that in *China*, where this sort of rude Character is made use of, a Man is ranked, as we are informed, amongst the *Learned*, who understands a

M moderate

moderate Proportion of Words only in the vulgar Language of his Country*. There is no question therefore, I think, to be made, but that *Hieroglyphics* were the first Step Mankind gained towards Writing : Or, that the Original Way they had of communicating with one another at a distance was, either by such a Picture, or Emblem-Character, as you have represented.

NATURE (resumed he) *Philemon*, the surest Guide in all Questions of Antiquity, if I have any Judgment this way, would suggest to them a Communication of this kind previously to any other. A Sentiment, which is confirmed by Fact, as well as Reason, if it be true, what some Writers upon this Subject have asserted to us, “ that the original Fashion of Letters with “ the *Egyptians*,” (a People amongst the first who used, if they did not invent an Alphabet)

* By all I can gather out of so many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words ; these are said by some to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixscore Thousand. The Learning of *China* therefore consists first in the Knowledge of their Language. Sir *W. Temple's Works*, Fel. p. 201. The Number of Letters they (the *Chinese*) use is excessive—It is true he who can make good use of Twenty Thousand is a good Scholar. *Navarette's Account of the Empire of China*, Book III. chap. 11. In Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 131.

phabet) “ was taken from the Forms, Mo-
 “ tions, or Postures of Animals before ap-
 “ plied to *Hieroglyphical* Representation *”.
 Thus, for Instance, the first Letter of their
 Alphabet, ’tis said, is only the Beak of the
Ibis placed cross-wise upon its two Legs:
 As their Delta is the Legs of the same *Ibis*
 considered together with the Line of the
 Earth which they include in standing upon
 it †. But to let this pass, as a matter per-
 haps more curious, than certain; and with-
 out entering farther into the Age of *Hiero-*
glyphic Writing; the Grounds of it, we
 have seen, are laid in “ the practicable Sub-
 “ stitution of one Thing, for another, upon
 “ the account of a certain Similitude or
 “ Analogy of their respective Qualities:
 “ Of present, and visible Objects for past,
 “ or distant ones: Or, more comprehen-
 “ sively, of Ideas of the Senses, for those
 “ of Memory or Understanding.” In which
 View of the matter, *Philemon*, the natural
 Conception, I think, which offers itself is,
 that in the *Hieroglyphic*, as in every other
 Species of Art, the easiest Productions were
 doubtless the first: Or, that the most sim-
 M 2 ple

* Invenimus primam literarum Egyptiarum $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ -
 $\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\iota\upsilon$ ex quatuordecim literis fuisse concinnatam,
 ut recte quoque *Clemens*, *Eusebius*, cæterique tradunt,
 ex sacrorum Animalium formâ, incessu, aliarumque
 corporis Partium sitibus desumptam. Kircher. *Obe-*
lisc. Pamph. p. 125.

† See Kircher, as before.

ple kinds of symbolical Representation are, generally speaking, to be esteemed the most antient ones. Thus, of two of the Representations which the *Egyptians* are related to have made of a Month, the one “ by “ a Moon with the Horns turned down- “ wards, and the other by a Branch of the “ Palm-Tree * ;” that of the Moon, one cannot avoid thinking, must have been first brought into Use : It being much more obvious to observe, “ that the Moon to- “ wards the end of her Period always ap- “ pear’d in such a manner,” which was the reason of this Symbol ; than, “ that it was “ the Nature of the Palm-Tree to put out a “ new Shoot precisely every Month,” which was the Foundation of the other. So again, a Mole might much more easily come to signify Blindness † — Two Men joining Hands, Concord ‡ — A Man armed, and shooting Arrows, a Riot || — Feet walking upon

* Μηναι γραφοντες, Βαϊν ζωγραφουσιν, (Αιγυπτιοι) η σεληνην επεστραμμενην εις το κατω· Βαϊν μεν, της προσωρημενης επι του Φοινικος αιτιας χαριν (δια το δενδρον τουτο μουν των αλλων, κατα την ανατολην της σεληνης, μιαν Βαϊν γενουσιν. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 3.) Σεληνην δε επεστραμμενην εις το κατω, επειδη, Φασιν, εν τη ανατολη προς το ανω ταις κερασι εν σχηματισθαι, εν δε τη αποκρυψει, εις το κατω τοις κερασι νεειν. Horap. Hierog. lib. I. Hierog. 4.

† Horap. lib. 2. Hierog. 63.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 11.

|| Ibid. Hierog. 12.

upon Water, an Impossibility *—A Hog, a Person transformed by his Debaucheries into a Beast † —or a Hawk upon the Wing, the swift Course of the Wind ‡ — The Analogies in all these Instances being of the most simple and striking Kinds —Than the the Number 1095, the Complement of Days to the Term of three Years, could come to signify Silence, “ because a Child “ which does not get the use of its Speech “ in that time, never afterwards obtains “ it ||.” Or, a She-Panther to stand for a concealed Villain, “ because that Animal “ hunts for its Prey secretly, and keeps in “ the Scent of its Breath, to avoid giving “ the Creature it has a Design upon any “ sufficient notice of its Approach §.” Or again, than a Man’s never stirring out of his own Doors could be expressed by an Ant, and the Wings of a Bat, “ because the “ Feathers

* Horap. lib. 1. Hierog. 58.

† Horap. Hierog. lib. 2. Hierog. 37.

‡ Lib. 2. Hierog. 15.

|| Αφωνιαν γραφοντες, αριθμον χιλια ενενηκοντα πεντε γραφουσιν. ος τριετούς εστι χρονου αριθμος, εκ τριακοσιων εξηκοντα πεντε ημερων του ετούς υπαρχοντος· εφ’ ου χρονον μη λαλησαν το παιδιον σημειούται ως παραπεποδισμενον τη γλωσση. Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 28.

§ Ανθρωπον εμφωλευοντα έαυτω κακιαν, και αποκρυπτοντα έαυτον, ώστε μη γνωσθηναι τοις ιδιοις, θελונτες σημηναι, Παρδαλιν ζωγραφουσιν· αυτη γαρ κρυφα τα ζωα θηρευει, μη συλχωρούσα την ιδιαν εσμην αφιεναι, καταδιωκτικην ουσαν των αλλων ζων. Horap. Lib. II. Hierog. 90.

* Feathers of a Bat placed at the Entrance
 “ of an Ant’s Nest keeps all the Ants strictly
 “ confined there *.”—Or lastly, than the
Cucuba could be made the Emblem of
 Gratitude “ because it was observed of
 “ that Bird, that it took a very particular
 “ Care of its aged Parents ; building them
 “ a Nest in the same Place where it had
 “ been hatched and brought up itself ;
 “ assisting them with its Beak at the time
 “ of losing their old Feathers ; and fur-
 “ nishing them with Food till that Season
 “ was over, and they were again able to
 “ support themselves †”—And yet, *Philemon*, the Analogies here concerned, are
 not, I assure you, a fiftieth part so refined,
 as numberless others I could mention to
 you, upon which much of this *Hieroglyphic*
 Language was founded. But I the
 rather instance in the Particulars before us,
 because they relate altogether to common
 Life,

* Ανθρωπον απροΐτον Βουλομενοι σημηναι, μυρμη-
 κα και πτερὰ νυκτεριδος ζωγραφουσιν· διοτι τιθεμε-
 κων των πτερων εις την νεοσσιαν των μυρμηκων, ου προ-
 ερχεται αυτων τις. Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hie-
 rog. 64.

† Ευχαριστιαν γραφοντες, κουκουβαν ζωγραφουσι·
 διοτι τουτο μονου των αλογων ζων επειδαν ὑπο των
 γονεων εκτραφη, γερασασιν αυτοις την αυτην αυταποδι-
 δωσι χαριν· εν ᾧ γαρ ὑπ’ αυτων εξετραφη τοπω νεοσ-
 σιαν αυτοις ποιησας, τιλλει αυτων τα πτερὰ, τροφας τε
 χορηγεῖ· μεχρις οὗ πλεροφυησαντες οἱ γονεῖς βοηθειν
 ἐαυτοις δυνησῶσιν. Horap. Lib. 1. Hierog. 55.

Life ; which was unquestionably the first Subject Mankind had occasion to write about.

So that (I interrupted) in the times we are speaking of, to be able to write and read well, *Hortensius*, a Man must have been a very tolerable *Naturalist*. Methinks, I cannot help observing here, the learning one's Letters in these Days must have been a far more agreeable, as well as useful Employment, than it is in our modern Ages ; since instead of going to one's *Horn-Book*, or one's *Primmer*, for the Character and Composition of A's and B's, the Scholar had the far nobler Volume of Nature before him ; and could not improve in *Words* without a correspondent Progress in *Things*. 'Tis pity this double Improvement is not a little more consulted in modern Education. Language, we are very truly told, is the great Key to Knowledge ; but as the matter is too commonly managed with us, 'tis really a great while before it opens any part of it to our Minds. How much time is by most People in their Youth spent in mere mechanical Reciting, before any farther useful Information is so much as thought of for them ! whereas, there is something of Fancy and Ingenuity in the first Aspect of the *Hieroglyphic Science* : in being able to improve every Object one meets with into an Instru-

ment of mutual Correspondence ; and to make the mute, and even inanimate part of the Creation, thus significantly express our Minds for us. I think this Art is now lost to the World. We hear indeed sometimes of Letters conveyed to Persons at a Distance by certain *feathered* Messengers ; And a Dog, if I mistake not, in a late celebrated Instance, was thought to signify a Treasonable Correspondence : But neither of these Cases are at all equal to the Point in question. We seem to consider the World of Animals as designed wholly for grosser Purposes, than those of conversing by them ; unless now and then we set them on talking and moralizing in a human Voice and Accent, and think proper to give a Lecture to our own Species under some or other of their borrowed Forms.

THE Ingenuity, (returned *Hortensius*) *Philemon*, of the *Hieroglyphic* Art was in time the Ruin of it ; as it gave occasion to that total Abuse of the Institution of *Symbolic* Writing, by which, what was intended to explain Mens Thoughts, became the most effectual Means of perplexing them ; and what began in easy and familiar Use, degenerated in conclusion into unintelligible Mystery : inasmuch as Men of a more thoughtful and speculative Complexion grew by degrees to write so much *above the com-*

mon Level, as to be understood by no body but themselves. Which was more especially the Case, after the *Hieroglyphics*, as we shall see, became sacred ; and, from being practised at first in the humble Concerns of ordinary Life, were applied mostly to the higher Subjects of Science or Divinity. In the mean while, one Inconvenience which soon attended this *Hieroglyphical* way of Writing, and which doubtless assisted to the Abuse I have been mentioning, was the Number of equivocal Senses which the same Word often had, grounded upon the *different* Qualities or Conceptions of the same sensible Representation. Thus, as we learn from the sixth *Hieroglyphic* in the Collections of *Horapollo*, “ a Hawk was either
 “ the Sun, or Exaltation, or some extraor-
 “ dinary Fall, or Preeminence, or Blood,
 “ or Victory. The Sun ; as being an Ani-
 “ mal remarkably prolific, and long-lived ;
 “ and moreover from its great Strength of
 “ Sight seeming to be a kind of natural
 “ Image of him. Exaltation ; because the
 “ Hawk by his perpendicular Flight easily
 “ rises above any other Bird. Falling ;
 “ from the quick and immediate Descents
 “ he is observed to make from the greatest
 “ heights. Preeminence ; because he is of a
 “ superior Nature to other Animals of the
 “ Feathered Kind. Blood ; because that
 “ is thought to be his Drink and Nourish-

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ment,

“ ment. Victory ; because he has the Art
 “ to overcome any Bird who encounters
 “ him, though superior to him in Strength,
 “ by turning himself upon his Back in the
 “ Air, whenever he is in danger of being
 “ worsted by his Antagonist.” So again
 the *Hieroglyphic* of the *Beetle* stood “ for
 “ any thing produced from a single Cause ;
 “ for Birth ; or the beginning to exist ;
 “ for the World ; a Father ; and a Man.”
 The Reasons may be seen in the tenth
Hieroglyphic of the Author just mentioned.
 In like manner the *Vultur* was made to sig-
 nify “ a Mother ; or Sight ; or a Boundary
 “ of Land ; or Prescience ; or a Year ; or
 “ the Heavens ; or Mercy ; or Unity ;” as
 the same Writer informs us in his eleventh
Hieroglyphic.

THE being sometimes thus equivocal
 (said I) is but a Defect which the *Hiero-
 glyphic* Language has in common with most
 other Languages ; especially, if the Orien-
 talists are to be relied on in this matter,
 with the more Antient and Eastern ones ; in
 which, I am sure, the same Word has
 often as many several, and sometimes widely
 different Meanings, as the most complicated
Hieroglyphic you can pitch upon. But the
 Context in such Instances of both kinds is
 the Rule by which to ascertain the Sense :
 and in most Cases, I should think, would

do it with tolerable Exactness. But after all, *Hortensius*, it was but an idle sort of Oeconomy in the Coiners of this *Hieroglyphic* Language, to be thus frugal of their Words, when they had the whole compass of Nature in their power, to furnish themselves with a sufficiently copious Expression.

THEY were like other Framers of Languages, (replied he) more studious of Abridgment than Perspicuity ; and willing moreover, I suppose, to save the Trouble of writing more than was absolutely necessary. Tho', on the other hand, *Philemon*, if one considers, a little Parsimony *here* is at least more excusable than in Alphabetic Language ; since it was a far easier matter for them to acquaint themselves with the *united Properties* of the same Objects, than to distinguish to a sufficient Degree the *appropriated Peculiarities* of different ones. And yet again, upon second Thoughts, I know not, but it had stood them in almost as little Expence of Time and Observation, (and I am sure it had been a far more useful Application of both) thus to have enlarged in many Cases their Stock of Words in this Emblematic Language, as it must have done to contract them in the Method they have taken, by attending to such *nice* and *intricate* Analogies of Objects to one another, as are the Ground of these *Hieroglyphical*

Equivocations *. But this, tho' it would have added greatly to the Usefulness of *Hieroglyphical* Writing, would haven taken off much from the *Mystery* of it: An End, to which the *Hieroglyphics* came in time to be so almost universally applied, that many People have been led to believe they were originally invented for this very Purpose; and that the Progress of them was not, as I have represented it, from common Life, into Subjects of Religion, but, on the contrary, from Religion, into common Life.

THE Course you have assigned them, (said I) is, I think, both the most natural
in

* Μονογενες δηλουντες, η Κοσμον, Κανθαρων ζω-
γραφουσι· μονογενες μεν, οτι αυτογενες εστι το ζων,
υπο θηλειας μη κυοφορουμενον·—Κοσμον δε, επειδη
κοσμοειδη την γενεσιν ποιειται·—Επειδαν ο αρσην
Βουληται παιδοποιησασθαι, Βοος αφοδευμα λαβων,
πλασσει σφαιροειδες παραπλησιον τω κοσμω σχημα·
ο εκ των οπισθιων μερων κυλισας απο ανατολης εις
δυσιν, αυτος προς ανατολην Βλεπει, ινα αποδω το του
κοσμου σχημα· αυτος γαρ απο του απηλιωτου εις
λιβα φερεται· ο δε των αστερων δρομος απο λιβος εις
απηλιωτην· ταυτην ουν την σφαιραν κατορυξας εις
γην κατατιθεται επι ημερας εικοσι οκτω, εν οταις και
η σεληνη ημεραις τα δωδεκα ζωδια κυκλευει· υφ' ην
απομενον ζωογονειται το των κανθαρων γενος· τη εν-
νατη δε και εικοστη ημερα ανοιξας την σφαιραν, εις
υδαρ βαλλει· ταυτην γαρ την ημεραν νομιζει συνο-
δου ειναι σεληνης και ηλιου, ετι δε και γενεσιν κοσμου·
ης ανοιγομενης εν τω υδατι ζωα εξερχεται· Horap.
Hierog. lib. 1. Hierog. 10.

in itself, and the most suitable to the known reserved and involved Manner of the *Egyptian* Priesthood; who, had the *Hieroglyphics* been originally a learned or sacred Character *only*, would hardly, I persuade myself, have suffered them to be afterwards prostituted to common and ordinary Subjects.

AND yet, (returned he) in the Accounts we have of the Obelisks of *Sesostris* and *Rameses*, Persons who lived long after the Introduction of Symbolic, or Animal Worship into *Egypt*, we meet with *Hieroglyphics* applied to very different Purposes from Religious ones. Of two of those of the former of these Princes, we are informed, that their Inscriptions set forth, “ the Extent of
“ his Power, the flourishing Condition of his
“ Revenue, and the Number of his Vic-
“ tories †.” And, wherever he made any Conquest, we are told, his Practice was to erect Pillars, upon which, together with other Inscriptions proper to the Occasion, he left behind him, “ certain obscene Em-
“ blems of the *manly* or *effeminate* Tem-
“ per of the conquer’d Nation *.” For the

† Τότε μεγεθος της δυναμειως, και το πληθος των προσοδων, και τον αριθμον των καταπολεμηθεντων εθνων. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 37.

* Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 35.

the Infcription of the famed Obelisk of *Rameffes*, now standing at *Rome*, you are not to be informed, *Philemon*, that it is of the *Kind* we are now fpeaking of; and yet we know from *Hermapion's* Translation of it, that it is a mere Piece of fulsome Panegyric to that vain Monarch; fuch as gives one, I have often thought, a much more contemptible Idea of his Subjects, than it does a great one of himfelf*. I am fenfible the learned *Kircher* condemns *Hermapion's* Translation here, as contrary to the whole Tenor and Genius of the *Hieroglyphic* Character; which, as he tells us, “ was never ufed to record the Praifes
“ and Victories of Kings, but confined
“ wholly to ideal and intellectual Mat-
“ ters †.” But Antiquity, a much better Judge doubtlefs in the Cafe, is unanimous in thinking otherwife: And this Author, 'tis well known, has his head fo full of the myfterious Wifdom of the *Egyptians*, that he will needs wrefte every thing to fome recondite Meaning with them. As if a Darknefs, like that which was once providentially brought upon their Country, had univerfally fpread itfelf over their Underftandings; and becaufe their *Hieroglyphics* had

* Vide Am. Marcell. Lib. 17.

† Kirch. Obelisc. Pamphyl. p. 151. Doctrinam Hieroglyphicam, non Regum laudes & victorias continere, fed folas res ideales & intellectuales.

had too often an intricate Intendment, therefore they could never possibly have an obvious one. But 'tis amusing enough to observe, how Men will labor for a Favorite Hypothesis.

As the learned Author (interposed I) was so determined, it seems, to assert the every where high and important Construction of the *Hieroglyphic* Writing, I think he had fully answered his purpose here, by considering the Inscription we are speaking of as of a more *raised* and *dignified* kind, from its relation to the Subject and Conduct of *Majesty*; instead of going thus against the Sense of Antiquity, no less than that of the Translator, to support his recondite System.

To say the Truth, *Philemon*, (returned he) I have often thought the Monument in question, with those other *Egyptian* Monuments which remain to us, inscribed in the *Hieroglyphic* Character, to be so far from Evidences of the universally sublime and mysterious Sense of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, that I would not desire a stronger Evidence of the contrary: Inasmuch as they give us good Reason to believe, that *Hieroglyphics* in their first Institution in *Egypt*, were, as has been said, nothing more than the *Original Character, or common Writing of the Country*; which, having obtained a Reverence from this very
Cir-

Circumstance of its Antiquity, was for this reason used in all *Public Inscriptions*, even after the Introduction of Alphabetic Writing for more ordinary and familiar Intercourse. But however the *Hieroglyphics* may have been sometimes indifferently applied to Civil, or Sacred, so they were but Public Uses, 'tis time for us to consider them under the more distinguished Notion of a *Religious* Character or Expression ; the only one, as has been before observed, in which they properly relate to our present Speculation. And here, amidst the several ridiculous, inadequate, or unnatural Accounts which have been given us of the Origin of Symbolic Worship in *Egypt*, the Principles we have been establishing will afford us, I think, the only true, however simple a Solution of this Problem.

THE simpler, (said I) *Hortensius*, certainly the more probable. The beginnings of Science never lie very deep : Subtilty and Refinement are laborious Operations, and require Time and repeted Thought for their Production.

YOU will observe then, (proceeded he) that as *Hieroglyphics* with the *Egyptians* were the *Original Writing of common Life*, one of the Subjects, which would often occur to be expressed by them, would be
Personal

Personal Characters. Accordingly in the Collection of them by *Horapollo*, we find certain *characteristic* Emblems appropriated to express almost all the more common and ordinary Turns of the human Temper, and Passages of human Conduct. Thus to signify a Woman's continuing in her first State of Widowhood, the *Egyptians* described a particular kind of a black Pidgeon *; as they did a Swallow for a Man who had left all his Possessions to his Children †. To have been naturally of a meek and composed Disposition, but provoked by ill Usage, was represented by the Emblem of a Pidgeon with its Tail erected ‡. To have deserted one's Family thro' Want, by that of a She-Hawk which had just laid its Eggs ||. The attempting things beyond a Man's Ability, was signified by a Bat **. The having brought Inconveniences upon himself, by a Beaver *†. The being irresolute and unequal to himself, by an Hyæna *‡. When they would characterize any Person who had never been out of his own Country, or District, they figured

O him

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. 2. Hierog. 32.

† Ibid. Hierog. 31.

‡ Ibid. Hierog. 48.

|| Ibid. Hierog. 99.

** Ibid. Hierog. 52.

*† Ibid. Hierog. 65.

*‡ Ibid. Hierog. 69.

him with the Head of an Afs *. When a Fuller, two Feet standing in Water †. The being of a morose, unfociable Spirit, was emblematically expressed by an Eel ‡. The having lived to a good old Age, by a dead Raven ||. A reformed Debauchee, by a Bull tied to a wild Fig-tree **. A gluttonous Person, by a Scare-fish *†. A Murderer brought to Repentance by Punishment, by a Fork-fish taken with a Hook *†. This Article, *Philemon*, might be infinitely enlarged, and the Analogies in every Instance distinctly noted and explained ; but it would take up too much of our Time, and is the less needful, after what has been already discoursed of the general Nature of the *Hieroglyphic Writing*.

You may proceed in your own Method (said I) *Hortensius* ; I cannot but say I could have some Pleasure in having these several Analogies pointed out to me ; but perhaps this is not the place for them : And I would not give you more Trouble than is necessary, or divert you too much from the principal Scope of our Inquiry.

THE

* Horap. Hierog. Lib. I. Hierog. 23.

† Ibid. Hierog. 65.

‡ Lib. II. Hierog. 103.

|| Ibid. Hierog. 89.

** Ibid. Hierog. 77.

*† Ibid. Hierog. 109.

*† Ibid. Hierog. 112.

THE Emblems (resumed he) I have hitherto mentioned, might be applicable to many different Persons, as relating all along more to the Character concerned, than the particular Subject of it. Persons however of more eminent Rank and Consideration with the *Egyptians*, had, we must suppose, as the Reason of the Thing required, their more *distinguishing* and *self-appropriated* Emblems assigned them. Thus, *Taautus*, or the *Egyptian Mercury*, is by *Sanchoniatho* said to have expressed the Cares and Vigilance of Magistracy, in the Person of *Saturn*, “ by an Image of him with
 “ four Eyes, two before, and two behind,
 “ as likewise two closed, and two open, in
 “ his Head; and with four Wings, two
 “ expanded, and two lying flat upon his
 “ Shoulders: The Symbol of the Eyes
 “ signifying, that *Saturn* in the Admini-
 “ stration of his Authority, was often to see,
 “ what he appeared not to see; and often
 “ to wink at what he manifestly saw—
 “ That of the Wings; that *Saturn* was
 “ often to have Intelligence of what pas-
 “ sed, even where he could not be pre-
 “ sent at it; and often to seem ignorant
 “ of what he was nevertheless fully ac-
 “ quainted with *”. I am aware, *Philemon*, you may think this Representation a

C 2

little

* Euseb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. I. p. 39. Ed. Par.

little too refined for so early an Age as that of *Taautus*. I do not therefore insist here on its being literally *his* Invention ; (for I am sensible he has the Credit of many Inventions ascribed to him, which were none of his) but mention it only as an Illustration of the more confined personal *Hieroglyphic*. Possibly, the Symbol of *Mercury* himself, which was that of the Dog, was of an earlier Introduction, as it is a much simpler Instance in the same Kind : “ Not, “ says *Plutarch* upon this Occasion, that the “ *Egyptians* esteemed *Mercury* to resemble “ a Dog in any proper Sense of the Word, “ but their Meaning here was only to ap- “ ply to him the guardian, watchful, and “ distinguishing Quality of that Animal,” founded upon certain analogous Circumstances of his Historic Character †. In the same way of thinking, we find that *Pan*, one of the Companions of *Osiris* in his foreign Expedition, was represented by a Goat ‡ ; as was *Jupiter*, the Father of *Osiris*,

† Οὐ γὰρ τοῦ κυνὰ κυρίως Ἑρμῆν λεγουσι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζῶου τὸ φυλακτικόν, καὶ τὸ ἀγρυπνόν, καὶ τὸ φιλοσόφον, γινώσκει καὶ ἀγνοῖα τοῦ φίλου καὶ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἣ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, τῷ λογιωτάτῳ τῶν θεῶν στυοικεῖουσι. *Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 355.*

‡ Γράφουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ γλυφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανός, καταπερ Ἕλληνες, τῷ γαλμα ἀιγοπροσώπων, καὶ τραγοσκελεα. *Herod. lib. 2. cap. 46.*

Osiris, by a Ram * ; and *Typhon*, his professed Adversary and Murderer, by an Afs, a Crocodile, and a River or Sea-Horse: The first, as *Plutarch's* Remark in the case is, the most stupid of all the tamer Animals; the other two, the fiercest and most mischievous of all the wilder ones †. For the original Grounds of the two Symbols of *Jupiter* and *Pan*, Antiquity has not, that I know of, satisfactorily explained them to us. Our great Countryman Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that the one only signified *Jupiter* to have conquered *Libya*, a Country abounding with Sheep ‡ ; and the other, that *Pan* was a Person much addicted to Dancing ||. But from the After-Application we meet with both of the Symbol and Character of *Pan* in the *Mythologic* Ages, I have been sometimes tempted to suspect, that the Goat, in his Case, had, even from the first Use of it, a quite other Intendment than is here represented; and either signified him to have been of a
very

* Κρείοπροσωπον τωγαλμα του Διους ποιενσι Αιγυπτιοι. Ibid. cap. 42.

† Απονεμουσιν αυτω (τω Τυφωνι) των ημερων ζωων του αμαθεστατου ονου, των δε αγριων θηριωδεστατα, κροκοδειλον, και του ποταμιου ιππον. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 371.

‡ The Chronology of ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 226.

|| The Chron. &c. p. 227.

very *salacious* Complexion, or the Father of a very *numerous* Offspring *. Such however being the general Practice of the *Egyptians*, “ to signify as well *Men*, as “ *Things*, under certain *sensible Emblems*,” you will easily conceive how *Osiris*, the great Father of Agriculture to the *Egyptians*, should come to be represented by them, as we find he was, under the Figure of a *Bull* or an *Ox*, the very Animal he had first made use of for this valuable Purpose † : As also how *Isis* should be signified by the Figure of a *Cow* ‡ ; both for the part she had contributed towards Agriculture in the first distinction of Grain ; as likewise more emphatically, 'tis probable, for her having taught either the *first*, or the *more improved* Use of the Cow's Milk : Which

I

* Ὅτεν δὲ εἰνεκα τοιούτου γραφουσι αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Πανα) οὐ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λεγέιν. Herod. Lib. II. cap. 46. Του δὲ τραγῶν ἀπεθῶσαν διὰ τὸ γενητικὸν μορίον· τὸ δὲ μορίου τοῦ σπέρματος τὸ τῆς γενεσεως αἰτίου τιμασθαι φασι προσήκοντως, ὥς αὖν ὑπαρχον ἀρχηγόνου τῆς τῶν ζῶων φύσεως· Diodor. Sic. B. b. l. i. p. 55.

† Τους δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱεροὺς τιμασθαι παραπλησιως τοῖς θεοῖς, Οἰσιδὸς καταδειξάμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς γεωργίας χρείαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν εὐρουτῶν τοὺς καρποὺς τὴν δόξαν ταῖς τούτων ἐνεργεσίαις παραδόσιμον γεγόνειναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. Diodor. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 79.

‡ Vid. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 372.

I collect from one of those *Dramatic Ceremonies* we were speaking of, in the *Egyptian Religion*, instituted, I persuade myself, in honor of this Invention, which is mentioned by the *Sicilian Historian*, to have been practised in a certain Island of the *Nile*; where the Priests, as he tells us, appointed to this Service, “filled every
 “Day three hundred and sixty Vessels with
 “Milk, near one of the supposed Places
 “of Interment of *Osiris* and *Isis*, lament-
 “ing, and calling upon their Names* ”. And now, *Philemon*, we are upon the very Confines of a *Symbolic Theology*. For the Figure of a Bull, as we say, having been the *Egyptian Emblem* of their beloved *Osiris*, a Proportion at least of the regard due to *himself*, would, even in his Life-
 time,

* Ενιοι δε Φασι ουκ εν Μεμφει κεισθαι τα σωμα-
 τα τούτων των Θεων, αλλ' επι των ὄρων της Αιθιο-
 πιας και της Αιγυπτου, κατα την εν των Νειλω νη-
 σου κειμενην μεν προς ταις καλουμεναις Φιλαις· ση-
 μεια δε τούτου δεικνυουσιν εν τη νησω ταυτη διαμενου-
 τα του τε ταφου κατεσκευασμενου Οσιριδι, και τας
 περι τούτου κειμενας εξηκοντα και τριακοσιας χοας·
 ταυτας γαρ καθ' ἑκαστην ἡμεραν γαλακτος πληροῦν
 τους προς τούτοις ταχθεντας ἱερείς, και θρηνειν ανακα-
 λουμενους τα των Θεων ονοματα. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib.
 I. p. 19. Τους δε ταυρους τους ἱερούς, του τε ονομαζο-
 μενου Απιν, και του Μυελιν, Οσιριδι καθιερωθηναι,
 και τούτους σεβεσθαι καθαπερ Θεους, κοινῇ καταδειχθη-
 ναι πασιν Αιγυπτίοις. Diod. Sic. Bib. Lib. I. p. 19.

time, doubtless, devolve upon this his privileged Substitute. But when, after his Death, he came to be *Deified*, the Matter soon took a much higher turn: What before was grateful Respect, now grew up into Religious Reverence. His Symbol was no longer that of a *Man*, but a *God*; till, by degrees, the Devotion of weak Minds ever inclining towards a sensible Presence, and *Osiris* having left nothing sensible behind him, upon Earth at least, but his Benefactions, and his Symbol, the visible Representation took place of the invisible *Demon*; and what had been for some time the standing Expression of his Character, became at length the favourite Instrument of his Adoration. You see, *Philemon*, even yet, tho' there was too much of Religion in the Case, there was nothing of Mystery; the Matter was neither more, nor less, than what the most vulgar *Romanists* practise at this very Day, when to do honor to a supposed tutelar Saint, they ignorantly fall prostrate before his Image. But tho' the Foundation of this Symbol-worship was not originally laid in any mysterious Speculation, it gave birth however in time to a great deal; inasmuch as the *Historic* Gods of the *Egyptians* were by no means the only ones, who had the Privilege of this Representation by Animals; but the Notion was by degrees extended to all
 their

their various System of Physical Divinities. In the mean while, is it not, think you, the more natural Progress of things in this, as in all parallel Subjects, from what is easy and obvious, into what is abstruse, and recondite, than, on the other hand, from difficult and mysterious, into simple, and familiar Principles?

UNDOUBTEDLY (said I) *Hortensius*. 'Tis one of the most self-evident Things imaginable. I am really surpris'd you should ask me the Question. No Man in his sober Senses can think otherwise.

You are too apt (returned he) to judge of other Peoples way of Thinking by your own. What say you to Mr. *Shuckford's* Authority in this point? He is both a Scholar, and a Man of Sense: and yet he is clearly against us in this whole matter; and has publickly declared for the direct contrary Opinion. But this is not the only Instance in which this Author has sacrificed Probability to System, and given up Nature, in order to serve, as he imagines, the Cause of Revelation.

BUT how (I interrupted) is that at all interested in the matter we are considering? It seems to me a mere Point of Antiquity, or Curiosity, in which *modern* Systems of
P Belief

Belief at least can have no manner of Concern.

I WILL explaine this Affair to you, (said he) *Philemon*. You know it is a favorite Topic with many of our Divines to depreciate Reason, the better to establish the Necessity of what is called Faith with them. Now nothing can cast a greater Reflection upon Reason, than to suppose that so wild and extravagant a Doctrine as that of the Emblematic Theology had its immediate Rise from this Quarter; or that the *original* Practice of Brute-Worship in *Egypt* was a Result of pretended Speculation, and a more refined Philosophy. Accordingly, our Author would persuade us to think, that the *Origin* of paying Religious Worship before some Animal Representation in *Egypt* was so far from having any Reference to *Osiris*, or the other Historic Deities of the same Age, (for they had all of them, I would observe here once for all, their consecrated Symbols, as well as he) that it was a Practice with the *Egyptians*, Ages before the Deification of these Heroes was so much as thought of. Nay, that the very Grounds of their applying religious Symbols to their Hero-Deities were laid in a preestablished Usage of this kind with regard to their natural ones. “ The first Step (says he) the *Egyptians* took, after
“ they

“ they worshipped the Luminaries of Hea-
 “ ven, was to dedicate some living Crea-
 “ ture to each particular Deity, and to
 “ worship that Deity before such Creature;
 “ or the Image of it *.” If you ask, how
 they fell into this Practice, which to our
 Apprehension *seems*, it is confessed; *odd*
and humoursome, the Answer is; “ Their
 “ Speculation and Philosophy led them into
 “ it.” When had they deserted the sure
 Guidance of Tradition, “ they quickly fell
 “ from one Fancy to another.” And hav-
 ing once thought the Lights of Heaven *to*
be the Gods that governed the World, “ they
 “ in a little time apprehended these Gods
 “ to have made the living Creatures of
 “ the Earth more or less Partakers of
 “ their Divinity and Perfections;” in order
 to convey a Knowledge of themselves
 to Mankind †. I know not, *Philemon*,
 had our Author lived in *Egypt* in the Ages
 we are speaking of, in *how little a time* he
 might have come to *apprehend this*; but
 I am sure it would have cost me a *great*
deal to do it: since, in the Light it is
 here placed in, it appears, I must confess,
 to me, one of the *least obvious* Apprehen-
 sions imaginable. For, as the Question is
 well put by the learned Writer himself,
 P 2 “ of

* *Shuckford's Con. Vol. II. p. 278, 279.*

† *Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.*

“ of what use can the Figure of a Beast
 “ be, to raise in Mens Minds Ideas of the
 “ fideréal Deities * ? ” Or, if on the other
 hand the Passage from Luminary to Brute-
 Worship be indeed so *quick* an one, as was
 just now represented, it will ever be a De-
 sideratum with me to conceive, whence it
 came to pass, that no other Nation we
 are acquainted with besides the *Egyptians*,
 how much soever it might rival them in
one of these Articles of their Idolatry, ever
 did so in the *other* ? But their Philosophy,
 it seems, was as singular in this Case, as
 their Practice ; neither of which could
 enter into the head of any People but
 themselves.

It was a kind of local Infatuation (said
 I) I suppose, with them ; a Distemper of
 their Soil and Climate ; a Species of Delu-
 sion which could only have its Production
 in this chosen Land of abject Superstition.
 Or, possibly, after all, it was some Influ-
 ence of their *Stars themselves* : some singu-
 lar Aspect of these Luminaries, which
 never took place but this once, and that
 only within the Horizon of *Egypt*, that
 gave birth to this wonderful Phænomenon ;
 and by certain secret Intimations to their
 Worshippers suggested this unusual Mode
 of their own Idolatry. You

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279.

Y O U would have made an excellent *Egyptian*, (returned he) *Philemon*, to have talked at this rate of occult Reasons, and secret Communications. You have here, I believe, struck a Note of Refinement in behalf of Animal-Worship beyond any of its professed Apologists in Antiquity. Had you hit off such a Defence of it in *Egypt*, in the Times of this Superstition, I almost fancy you would have had a whole College of her Priests to wait on you with the Compliment of Initiation, even without the Trouble of its preparatory Ceremonies. In the mean while, I, who love Nature much better than Visions, am for acquitting both the Country and the Stars of *Egypt* in this Matter, and for tracing out the Source of Brute-Worship in the *Egyptians* themselves. It had its Derivation, I make no question, from the Practice of their common, and above all their *personal Hieroglyphics*: and, instead of saying with Mr. *Shuckford* here, “ that the Use of Animals amongst the “ *Egyptians* for Images of their Deities “ introduced an analogous Practice in their “ Pictures of Men * ;” I would say rather (and with much greater Probability, I think) “ that their *Hieroglyphical* Manner of re- “ presenting to one another the Persons and “ Characters of *Men* gave Rise to an ana-
“ logous

† Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 308, 309.

“ logous Usage with relation to their *Gods*.”
 For, to mention; *Philemon*, some few of
 their Representations in each kind—Was
 it not a much more easy and natural
 Thought, for them to signify *Osiris*, the
 Father of Tillage, by the Figure of a Bull—
 Or *Isis*, who taught them either the first
 Use, or the Improvement of Cows Milk,
 by that of a Cow—Or *Mercury*, the faithful
 Friend, and prudent Counsellor of them
 both, by the Watchfulness and Sagacity of
 the Dog? — Than it was “ to fancy the
 “ Hawk paid a natural Homage to the Sun,
 “ and was an apposite Symbol of him, be-
 “ cause it is the only Bird, which can in-
 “ dure a strong Light without Pain; can
 “ soar directly against the Sun-beams; and
 “ is observed sometimes to fly in a supine
 “ Posture, looking freely and steadily to-
 “ wards Heaven, and towards the Eye of
 “ him who sees all Things *? ” — Or, to
 think of representing the Moon by a Cat,
 “ because

* Αι γυπῖοι τοῦ ἱερακῆ ἀπολλῶνι τιμᾶν εἰκάσι· καὶ
 προσηκεῖν τῷ θεῷ, φασι· ὁρῶσι γὰρ ἱερακὲς οὐρανῶν
 μένου αἰε, ἐν ταῖς ἀκτῖσι τοῦ ἡλίου ραδίως καὶ ἀβα-
 σανιστως βλέποντες, καὶ δυνωπουμένοι ἡκίστα· πο-
 ρεῖαν τε τὴν ἀνωτάτω ἴασι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡ θεὰ φλόξ
 λυπεῖ οὐδεν· καὶ ἀναπαλιν μέν τοι πτεροσθαι τοῦ ἱε-
 ρακῆ οἱ ἰδόντες φασιν ὡς ἐξ ὑπῆρας νεοντα· εὐθα τοὶ καὶ
 πρὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὄρα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πάντα ἐφ’ ὄρωντα,
 ἀλλὰ ἐλευθερῶς καὶ ἀτρεπῶς ὁ αὐτός· *Ælian: Hist:*
Animal. Lib. X. cap. 13.

“ because of the spotted Skin of this Animal ;
 “ its imploying itself mostly in the Night-
 “ time ; and having the Pupil of its Eye
 “ enlarged, or contracted, according to the
 “ Moon’s Increase or Wane*?” —Or again,
 to image the same Luminary by a Dog,
 “ because the young ones of this Species
 “ are blind *thirteen* Days from their Birth,
 “ which is the exact Number of the Days
 “ in a Year, on which the Moon gives
 “ absolutely no Light †?” I might go
 on to instance in the Rams being held sacred
 to the Sun, as the great Lord of Life, “ from
 “ its being observed to rest the six Winter
 “ Months of the Year, upon its left Side,
 “ and the other six” (the Season in which
 both the animal and vegetable World is in
 its most prosperous and flourishing State)
 “ upon its right ; changing its Posture pre-
 “ cisely at the time of the autumnal and
 “ vernal

* Τῷ δὲ αἰλουρῷ αἰνιτίζοντες τὴν σελήνην δια τὸ
 ποικίλον, καὶ νυκτοῦργον, καὶ γενιμον τοῦ θηρίου.—
 οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁρμασίῳ αὐτοῦ Κοραὶ πληρουσθαι μὲν
 καὶ πλατυνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσεληνώ, λεπυνεσθαι δὲ
 καὶ μαρραγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἀστρου· Plut. de
 Is. & Os. p. 376.

† Τα σκυλακία τυφλά τικτεται, καὶ οὐκ ὁρᾷ τῆς
 μητρος ὠδίνος πρόελθοντα, καὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τῶν
 πρῶτων κατειληπταὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷδε, ὅταν καὶ ἡ σε-
 ληνὴ οὐ φαίνεται πικτῶ· Ælian. Hist. Animal. Lib. X.
 cap. 45.

“ vernal Equinoxes *.”—Or, in the Ape’s being consecrated to the Moon, as “ having
 “ a *natural Sympathy* with her ; inas-
 “ much as at the time of her Congress with
 “ the Sun,” the part of her Period in which
 with respect to the Earth she is totally dark,
 “ the Male Ape becomes blind ; refuses
 “ its Food ; and hangs down its Head to-
 “ wards the Ground, as regretting the
 “ Absence of the Moon’s Light ; the Fe-
 “ male Ape at the same Season, besides all
 “ this, suffering a peculiar and periodical
 “ Infirmary of her own †.”—Or, I might
 take notice to you of——But the mat-
 ter is, I dare say, already too evident, to
 need any farther Illustration.

As

* Ακουω του κριου το ζωον εξ μηνων των χειμεριω-
 τωτων κατα της αριστερας πλευρας κεισθαι και κα-
 θευδειν, όταν αυτου αιρει και περιλαμβανει ύπνος· α-
 πο δε της εκρινης ισημεριας εμπάλιν αναπαυεσθαι,
 κατα δε της δεξιας κεισθαι. *Ælian. Hist. Animal.*
Lib. X. cap. 18.

† Σεληνην γραφοντες (Αιγυπτιοι) κυνοκεφαλου ζω-
 γραφουσι· επειδη το ζωον τουτο συμπαθειαν τινα προς
 την της θεου συνοδου εκλησχε· όταν γαρ εν τω μερει
 της ώρας ή σεληνη συνοδευουσα ήλιω αφωτιστος γεννη-
 ται, τότε ο μεν αρσην κυνοκεφαλός ου βλέπει, ουδε
 εσθιει, αχθεται δε εις την γην νενευκως, καθαπερ
 πενθων της σεληνης άρπαγην· ή δε θηλεια μετα του
 μη όραν, και ταυτα τω αρρενι πασχειν, ετι δε και εκ
 της ιδιης φυσεως αιμασσεται· *Horap. Hierog. Lib.*
I. Hierog. 14.

As much a *Mystic* (interposed I) *Hor-*
tensius, as you was pleased just now in Rail-
 lery to paint me to yourself, believe me, I
 am very ready to descend with you out of
 the airy Regions of Fancy into the safer
 Paths of plain Nature; and can without
 difficulty give up both my Hypothesis, and
 Initiation, to enter into such a rational and
 satisfactory Sentiment of Things, as you
 have here laid before me.

THERE is (resumed he) this farther
 Argument for the prior Date of Heroic
 Symbols to Physical; that the first natural
 Divinities of the *Egyptians*, the Sun, Moon,
 and Stars, were all of them Objects capable
 of a direct Representation to Sense by way
 of *Picture*, or *μῦθος* of the Things them-
 selves: which, as it is in itself the most
 obvious kind of Representation of any Ob-
 ject, would doubtless take place with the
Egyptians, wherever it was practicable:
 a Circumstance, which must have precluded,
 it should seem, the Use of Symbols with
 regard to their natural Gods, till such time
 as, from the Application of them in the
 Worship of their civil Gods, the emblematic
 Turn of Thinking in Religion was grown
 to be the popular and prevailing one. And
 indeed, to shut up this Subject, *Philemon*,
 had the *Symbolic* Worship of Nature been
 introduced in *Egypt*, as Mr. *Shuckford*
 Q every

every where maintains it was, before either the *symbolic*, or the *proper* Worship of her antient Heroes, I question much, whether this latter Species of her Idolatry had ever been heard of. For it seems to me a little unlikely, that, after the *Egyptians* had acquired such an exquisite Sagacity in Thinking, as to be able to represent to themselves, as we may say, the whole Creation in Emblem, they should find any Temptation to idolize such comparatively low and humble Efforts of human Genius, as the Invention of the first simpler Arts and Accommodations of Life.

THE true Rise therefore of Animal-Worship in *Egypt* was, doubtless, of a much humbler Kind than Mr. *Shuckford* has represented. “ It was originally only the
 “ Worship of the antient Heroes of the
 “ *Egyptians*, exalted by them after their
 “ Decease to the Character of Gods, thro’
 “ the Medium of that particular Animal-
 “ Representation, which had been used in
 “ *Hieroglyphic* Writing to distinguish their
 “ several Persons as Men.” But the matter, however it might begin, did not, we find, rest here; for the Idea of a *certain Divine Presence* having once grown into an established Connexion with the Image or Portrait of a *certain Animal*, it was easy for Superstition or Artifice to improve upon this

this Hint; and to have it believed, that the God, who was thus conceived of as mystically present to his Worshippers in the dead Image, might sometimes vouchsafe to become substantially so in the living Animal in Kind: a Notion, which accordingly prevailed in time with the *Egyptians* to such an extravagant degree, that there was scarce a Species of Animals in their Country, some Individual whereof had not Divine Honors paid it, as the Temple of some or other of their Gods *. One of the most celebrated of these Brute-Divinities was the *Apis*: “ A God,” as *Lucian* humorously describes him, “ from out of the Herd †;” Or, in other Words, a Bull consecrated to *Osiris*; whose first Distinction from his Fellows was probably nothing more, than his superior Size or Beauty ‡; though it was afterwards improved into his having a supernatural Conception, together with several *Mystic Ensigns* of a Divine Character,

Q 2

ter,

* Αἰγυπῖοι δὲ θεοτεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ ἴσα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ταδε· Αἰγυπῖος οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ εἶντα σφὶ ἀπαντὰ ἴσα νενομίσται· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 65.

† Ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀπὶς ἐξ ἀγέλης θεός· Lucian. de Sacrif. ap. Fin.

‡ Πολὺ καλλίων καὶ σεμνοτέρος τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Βοῶν· Ibid. Ὁ δὲ Ἥλιω ἀνακείμενος ἐν Ἥλιου πόλει καλούμενος Μνευῖς, Βοῶν ἐστὶ μέγιστος, σφοδρὰ μέλας· Porph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. III. cap. 13.

ter, to the Number, in *Ælian's* Time, of twenty-nine: in virtue whereof, he was constituted not only, what we sometimes find him called by the *Egyptians*, (and what alone, I persuade my self, was their first Idea of him) “ the beautiful Image “ of the Soul of *Osiris* * ;” But, by a still higher Privilege, the Image of the greatest part of their *natural* Deities at the same time †. But these, *Philemon*, I pass over at present, both, as they belong rather to the subsequent part of our Inquiry; and, as they were, past question, Appendages to the original Superstition of the *Apis*; a mere Contrivance of the *Egyptian* Priesthood,

* Του Απιου ὡς εὐμορφου εἰκονα χρη νομιζειν της Οσιριδος ψυχης. Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 362.

† Θεος Αιγυπτιοις ευαργεστατος ὁ Απιδ ειναι πιστευεται· γινεται δε εκ Βοος εις ἡν ουρανιου σελας εμπεσου σπορας αιτιου εστι τω προειρημενω——σημεια δε αυτου και γνωρισματα εννεα και εικοσι ειναι (Αιγυπτιοι) φασιν· ὅτου δε των αστερων ἕκαστον σημειου δια συμβολου αινιτίζεται την Φυσιν, Αιγυπτιοι τεκμηριωσαι ἱκανοι· και γαρ τει και την ανοδου την του Νειλου ὑποδηλοῦν σημειου φασι, και το του κοσμου σχημα· ἀλλ’ οφει τι και συμβολου, ὡς εκεινοι λεγουσιν, ὅπερουν αινιτίζεται του Φωτος ειναι το σκοτος πρεσβυτερον· και το μνησειδες της σεληνης κατηγορει σχημα συνιεντι μερος αλλο· και αλλα δε επι τουτοις αλλων τε αινιγματα, βεβηλοις τε και αμαθεσιν ιστοριας θεοπρεπουσ ουκ ευσυμβολα ταυτα οφθαλμοις οντα· *Ælian. Hist. Animal. Lib. II. cap. 10.*

hood, to get the Times of his Appearance, (for, I should observe to you, he was not always supposed to be present in *Egypt*) into their own hands; and to have the making, as occasion might offer, of one of the chief Objects of Worship in their Country.

AND a very artful Contrivance too, (said I) *Hortensius*, for the Ends of Priestly Ambition and Emolument; as we have but too good Proof in the History of modern Superstition: whose Masters, you know, throughout great part of *Christendom*, have adopted this God-making Policy of the old *Egyptian* Hierarchs; which they accordingly practise frequently with equal Impudence, and Success, in the Face of devout Multitudes, who, from an awful Sense of their high Prerogative in this matter, are enslaved into a blind Submission to their Authority in every other.

BEFORE we have finished our present Subject, (returned he) *Philemon*, you will find this is by no means the only Instance of Plagiarism in modern Superstition, from antient. Priestcraft, it should seem, was a Science very soon brought to its Perfection in the World. It is observed of Arts in general, you know, that they never fail to flourish under a proper Incouragement: a Happiness,

piness, which the Art we are speaking of
 in particular could never want, as far back-
 wards in History as there was any such thing
 as devout Weakness in human Nature. It
 carries indeed, in distinction from all other
 Arts, its immediate Recompence in its own
 hands : since, whoever has Address enough
 to cheat People of their Liberties and their
 Possessions by applying himself to their
 Fears is sure of being a sufficient Gainer
 by his Profession. But, to return from the
 political Application of Brute-Worship, to
 the original Institution of it ; for the pre-
 cise Æra of these Animal-Gods in *Egypt*,
 we have little more than Conjecture to
 trust to in this matter. The *Egyptian* Chro-
 nology, you may remember, seems to have
 determined the time of the Consecration of
 the *Apis* to the Reign of *Geachos*, the tenth
 Successor in the *Thinite* Government. If
 the *Apis* was, as I am much inclined to
 believe, the first Instance of a Brute-God
 amongst the *Egyptians*, the time here
 fixed for his Consecration falls in, as I ob-
 served to you in our last Conversation,
 with the Age of *Suphis* at *Memphis* ;
 whose general Character may make it not
 improbable, that he was the Author of
 this Fancy. Whether *Suphis* was more a
 Devotionalist, or a Politician, I know not ;
 but he had, we find, a Head much turned
 to Religious Subjects : and, from the extra-
 ordinary

ordinary Acquaintance he is said to have had with the Gods, must have understood, no doubt, beyond any of his Contemporaries; the *Modus* of their Divine Presence.

WHICH was the Secret, (said I) I suppose; he delivered down to his Successors in Religious Politics in that *Sacred Book* you mentioned him to have been the Author of; a Depositum; it seems, whereby his Memory became so singularly endeared to them, that they could not let it pass through their hands to After-Ages without entering a particular Testimony of their Obligations to him upon this account.

AND yet perhaps (returned he) the Secret, *Philemon*, was all this while nothing more, than that of humoring the Bias of popular Weakness; submitting to govern the Multitude upon their own Terms; and leaving them to the Impressions of a false Species of Religion, as thinking them not fit to be trusted with the Principles of a truer one. I inquire not into the Merits of such a way of Thinking; all I observe is, that it seems to have been the general Sentiment of more knowing Antiquity in the Point. And of this kind, I make no question, was the *Egyptian* Brute-Worship: not originally a Deduction of their Philosophy; (for then the *Greeks*,
who

who learnt to Philosophize in *Egypt*, would have fallen into the same Practice) but a mere *local* Accommodation to vulgar Prejudices ; which, when they had taken too deep Root to be removed without hazard, as might be apprehended, to better Things, the Learned, as their manner seems to have been in all parallel Cases, endeavoured to justify as well as they could ; and to give them the best Colorings they were capable of. For indeed the Belief of Animal-Gods in *Egypt* was an Error of too great Consequence to the Priesthood, not to deserve all the Countenance they could give it ; nor need we doubt, but the Wisdom of this Order would find something to say for itself upon so interesting an Occasion. And here, as I take it, came in first the *Philosophy* of representing, as Mr. *Shuckford* well expresses the matter for us, “ the Gods to have made
 “ the living Creatures upon Earth more or
 “ less Partakers of their Divinity and Per-
 “ fections, in order to convey a Know-
 “ ledge of themselves to Mankind : ” a Notion, which, as the same learned Writer remarks, “ Men of the nicest Inquiry pre-
 “ tended to support by many curious Ob-
 “ servations upon particular Kinds of Ani-
 “ mals* : ” inasmuch, that *Porphyry* assures us, it came in time, upon this Principle, to be asserted by them, “ as from a more
 “ intimate

* Shuck. Con. Vol. II. p. 279, 280.

“ intimate Knowledge of Divine Matters,
 “ that some Animals had so near a rela-
 “ tion to certain of the Gods, as to be
 “ even dearer to them than Mankind itself;
 “ as was (they maintained) the case of the
 “ Hawk in respect to the Sun, from a
 “ supposed Analogy of its Temperament
 “ to that of the Sun’s Body *.”

THIS was a Strain of Refinement indeed (said I) *Hortensius*. But after all I do not much wonder to find the human Species in *Egypt* sunk so low in the Estimation of their spiritual Masters, considering that they conversed with Mankind altogether in their Foibles; and found them capable of being made Tools to their separate Interest and Ambition, by entering into such abject and illiberal Sentiments of Things.

THE standing so high (resumed he) in the Favor of Heaven, as in the Instance here mentioned, was the Lot only of some few privileged Animals: or rather, probably, was an occasional Compliment in the hands of the Priesthood, to be bestowed

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* Εκ της περι το θείου συντροφίας κατελαβόν τισι των θεων προσφιλη των ζων τινα μάλλον των αν-
 θρωπων ως ήλιω ιερακα, συμπασαν μεν την φυσιν
 εξ αιματος εχοντα, και πνευματος, και ζην μεν επι
 πλειονα ετη. Porph. de Abstinentiâ, Lib. IV.
 Sect. 9.

here and there, upon certain special Emergencies. However this might be, the general Plea for Animal-Worship, as soon as the Learning of *Egypt* had ingaged in the Patronage of it, was, as has been said, “ the relation which the several kinds of “ consecrated Animals had to some or other “ of the Gods, in quality of *Emblems*, or “ *sensible Representations*, of their divine “ Powers and Properties: ” several alledged Examples whereof having been occasionally produced, whilst we were discoursing at large of the *Hieroglyphic-Science*, I shall presume upon this matter, *Philemon*, as already sufficiently illustrated to you. But when, upon the Principle here supposed, the Number of Divine Symbols was so much increased in *Egypt*, that the precise Reasons of them in each particular Instance were in a manner endless to be distinctly insisted on ; and when moreover the general Subject-Matter of the *Egyptian* Theology itself was, in a Course of Time and Speculation, become more refinedly *Philosophical* ; a still higher way of Thinking was authorized in the Point ; which at once apologized for every possible Case of Animal-Superstition, without descending to the more intricate Minutiæ of any. Thus it was maintained, “ that the Worship “ seemingly paid to particular consecrated “ Animals did not terminate in the Ani-
“ mals

“ mals themselves, as a superficial or pro-
 “ fanè Observer might imagine ; but had
 “ for its ultimate Object the Divine Power,
 “ which actuates all things, as displaying it-
 “ self in those Animals * : for that it was
 “ not in Man alone that the Divinity offer-
 “ ed itself to our Observation, but in almost
 “ every kind of animated Nature ; where-
 “ fore, it was thought good to take in every
 “ such Nature into the System of Deity †.”

Nay, it was even asserted, as we find in
Plutarch, “ that Animals were the most
 “ perfect and natural *Specula* in which the
 “ human Mind could contemplate the God-
 “ head : inasmuch as being indued with
 “ Life, and Sense, and Self-motion, and
 “ having a Faculty of distinguishing diffe-
 “ rent Objects from each other for their
 “ own Use and Preservation, they were to
 “ be conceived of as so many several Streams
 “ issuing from the great common Fountain
 “ of Life and Intelligence : and had there-
 “ fore a much nearer Affinity to the Di-
 “ vine Being, than any Images of human

R 2

“ Device,

* Την επι παντων δυναμιν του Θεου δια των συνο-
 μων ζων, ων εκαστου του Θεου παρεσχευ, εζησκει-
 σαν” Porph. de Abs. Lib. IV. Sect. 9.

† Εγνωσαν ως ου δι’ ανθρωπου μονου το Θειον δι-
 ηλθεν, αλλα σχεδον δια παντων των ζων, διο εις
 την Θεοποιαν παρελαβον παν ζων” Porph. de Abs.
 p. 154.

“ Device, the uninformed Workmanship
“ of the Sculptor, or the Statuary *.”

IN Consequence of which way of thinking (said I) our Apologists for Brute-Worship might with still greater Reason have demanded Divine Honors to their *own Persons*; and have pronounced themselves to be in right, what they were too much in fact, so many Gods to the People: unless indeed they were apprehensive, the People might upon the same Principles commence Gods, as well as their Masters; or were after all honestly conscious to themselves that, whatever the Argument might seem to prove for them, they could indeed have but little Title to a Divine Character, who had so far debased the human one, as to enter seriously into the Defence of such a ridiculous Theology.

FOR the Consequences of Opinions (returned *Hortensius*) People are by no means
always

* Αγαπητεον ουν ου ταυτα τιμωντας, αλλα δια ταυτα το Θεου, ως ενεργεστερων εσοπλρων, και Φυσει γεγουστων—η δε ζωσα, και βλεπουσα, και κινησεως αρχην εξ εαυτης εχουσα, και γνωσιν οικειων και αλλοτριων, Φυσις, αλλως τε εσπακεν απορροην και μοιραν εκ του Φρονουντος οπως κυβερναται το τε συμπαν· οθεν ου χειρον εν τούτοις εικαζεται το Θεου, η χαλκείοις και λιθούρις δημιουργημασιν Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 382.

always true to them; inasmuch as they may either not see, or not acknowledge, or, which is more to our present Purpose, not *want* them. For this was certainly the Case of our *Egyptian* Apologists in the Subject before us: They framed their Hypothesis with an Eye to a *particular Point only*; and therefore pursued it no farther than the Interests of *that Point* required: or, in other Words, as has been intimated above, they found their Countrymen, for Reasons already mentioned, actually ingaged in the Worship of certain Brute-Animals, and then instituted a kind of Mock-Philosophy, which should authorize such a Worship: their Speculation in this matter taking its rise from their Practice, and not their Practice from their Speculation. And here, *Philemon*, at parting with the Subject of the Sacred Animals, I may observe to you, that the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, supposed by the *Greek* Writers a Native of *Egypt*, is by many People believed to owe its Birth to this Article of her Theology. Indeed the learned *Vossius* is of opinion, that it was a Corruption of some traditionary Notices in Antiquity concerning a general Resurrection *. But, as he rests his Opinion

* Imo non animas modo superesse post mortem, consensus gentium fuit: sed apud multas etiam reliquiae suere de novâ cum corporibus conjunctione, quam Resurrectionem dicimus. Sed foedè eam cor-
ruperunt;

nion here upon mere Authority without Reasons, we are certainly at liberty to dissent from him, if a more probable Account of the matter may be found to offer itself; as, I must own, I am inclined to think there may yet be given of it, than either of the Accounts hitherto mentioned. Whether Reason, or Revelation, first taught Men the Belief of the Soul's Immortality, either way the Notion itself appears to have been a very antient one in the World.

As, without any thing supernatural in the Case, (interrupted I) we may well suppose it *must have been*: both, as the Doctrine of a future Existence is a very important Engine of civil Policy; and as it is at the same time an Hypothesis extremely flattering to private Interest; a kind of natural Dictate of the human Heart. The Love of Being as such, and Desire of its Continuance, is inseparable from every *Conscious* Possessor of it. In this respect the intriguing Statesman has one common
Feeling

ruperunt in illam, quam dixere μετεμψυχωσιν, quasi dicas transanimationem: item μετεμσωματωσιν, hoc est migrationem de corpore in corpus: etiam παλιγγενεσιαν, five regenerationem. Quæ non Pythagoreorum duntaxat, sed multarum etiam gentium opinio fuit, & admodum diffitatur. De Egyptiis, testis Herodotus; a quibus etiam id hausisse Pythagoram, idem tradit. Voss. de Orig. & Prog. Idol. Lib. I. p. 70, 71.

Feeling with the humblest Instrument of his Ambition : and having once learnt the Bias of Human Nature in this Point from *himself*, we cannot imagine he would long be at a Loss to make use of it in other People.

IN order to which End (said *Hortensius*) his Business would certainly be, to represent to Mens Thoughts the State of their future Existence under such particular kinds of sensible Images, as he should conceive most agreeable to the popular Relish in his Country. Now, do but suppose, *Philemon*, our Statesman here to be an *Egyptian* one, and you will, I dare say, be of opinion with me, that a better Mode of Representation in the Case before us could hardly have been devised, than that of a *Metempsychosis* ; a Notion, which, besides the Countenance it might receive from the Superstition of the *Egyptians*, as above mentioned, had a singular Accommodation to their national Usage of *Hieroglyphic* Writing : for, whereas in the Course of this Practice they had been accustomed from the most distant Antiquity to substitute Animals for personal Characters of *the Living*, they would easily, we may imagine, enter into a Sentiment of Things, which should represent these Animals as the personal Residence of *the Dead* : this being only to conceive of Death, as changing the

Emble-

Emblematic State of Affairs with Mankind into a *real* one; and allotting them that particular Province of Action in a literal Sense, in which they had acted throughout Life in a figurative one *. But be this, *Philemon*, as it may—I have now led you through the three principal Stages of the *Egyptian* Idolatry—The Worship of the several

* It must be owned that, as *Herodotus* represents this matter to us, there seems to be nothing of moral Designation in it, (the only View in which it can be supposed to answer the Ends of civil Government) since according to his Account of it the States of all Men after Death are supposed the same—
 Πρωτοι δε και τονδε τον λογον Αιγυπτιοι εισι ειποντες, ως ανθρωπου ψυχη αθανατος εστι· του σωματος δε καταφθινοντος, ες αλλο ζωον αιει γενομενου εσθυεται· επεαν δε περιελθη παντα τα χερσαια, και τα θαλασσια, και τα πτηνα, αυτις ες ανθρωπου σωμα γνωμενου εσθυνεν· Herod. Lib. II. cap. 123.—But, when it is considered, that Philosophy in *Egypt* was too good a Friend to Legislation, not to turn every Point of Doctrine to some political Account; that the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, (both of whom were for some time under an *Egyptian* Tutorage, and who, as Philosophers, had a nearer Interest in a Question of this Nature, than a mere Historian can be conceived to have had) puts a manifest Difference between good and bad Men in the future State; and moreover, that *Diodorus* expressly informs us that the *Egyptians* themselves did the same, in his Account of their Funeral Ceremonies; when this, I say, is considered, it may incline one to suspect *Herodotus's* Representation of the Case here to be rather inaccurate, and that the *Metempsychosis* of the *Egyptians* was always intended to carry with it the Idea of a certain moral Discipline.

several Parts and Powers of Nature—Of certain deified Heroes of very remote Antiquity, the Founders of Society, and Inventers of the more necessary Arts of Life—And of the Animals consecrated to these supposed Deities of both Kinds, as Emblems of their Divinity and Perfections—It remains however that I give you some short Account of that industrious Confusion of the natural with the civil part of their Theology intimated, you may remember, during our last Conference, to have been introduced amongst the *Egyptians*, in the successive Refinement of their Religious Politics; and which is to be considered, I think, as the finishing Improvement of their speculative Superstition. For the Grounds of this Confusion, you are to observe, that, whereas the Foundations of their Heroical Theology were laid, as has been all along said, in the very Depths of Barbarism, the Credenda in this System were for the most part such, as could only pass upon a rude and ignorant Generation; and were found liable to infinite Cavil and Exception, as Mankind improved in rational Thinking. The Traditions, for Example, received by the *Egyptians*, concerning the Birth and Genealogy of their antient Heroes—Their Course of Imployment through Life—the Particularities, and even sometimes Defects, of their

Persons *—Their Intrigues and Love-Adventures — Their Factions and mutual Violences—Above all, that most inhuman one committed by *Typhon* upon the Life of the Beneficent *Osiris*—These were all of them Accounts of things so little agreeable to the Conceptions which more improved Reason taught the *Egyptians* to entertain of Divine Beings ; such glaring Disproofs of all just Title to their Reverence in some of the chief prescribed Objects of it ; as must upon Examination have brought a thorow Disgrace upon the whole System of their heroical Divinity, had not the Wisdom of the Sacred Order, ever tenacious of established Principles, found out an Expedient to screen in all these Cases the manifest Absurdity of the *literal* Doctrine under the Pretext of an *allegorical* Interpretation. The Expedient was that of Physical *Mythology* : a Representing the several Powers and Passions of external Nature under the Idea of so many conscious Personages ; to whom, when the Mythologists had given the Names of their several Deified Heroes, and placed them in suitable Circumstances of Relation to one another, they contrived in some measure to accommodate the intireAdventures

* Ἱστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἰγυπτῖοι τοῦ μὲν Ἑρμῆν τῷ σώματι γενεσθαι γαλιαικῶνα, τοῦ δὲ Τυφῶνα τῇ χροα πυρρον, λευκὸν δὲ τοῦ Ὠροῦ, καὶ μελαγχρῶν τοῦ Ὀσίριν· Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 359.

tures of the Persons whose Names they bore : in order that all exceptionable Occurrences in their heroic or Demon-History might be capable of an innocent Explication into certain correspondent Articles of natural *.

I ALWAYS thought (interrupted I) *Hortensius*, the Powers and Passions of inanimate Nature had been first raised into conscious Personality by the mere wanton Generosity of Poets ; and had received it as a voluntary Donation at the liberal hand of the Muses, instead of being thus forced into it to serve a Turn in the Politics of an intriguing Hierarchy. But methinks, I want much to know how they sustained the several Characters here assigned them ; and with what Success they acquitted themselves in the different Provinces of the Heroic History,

TRUST the *Egyptian* Priesthood for this, (returned *Hortensius* ;) they had studied the

S 2

Business

* Τα μεν γεγονοτα πραγματα εξ αρχης απε-
πεμψαντο, αλληγοριας και μυθους επινοησαντες, και
τοις κοσμικοις παθημασι συγγενειαν πλασαμενοι μυ-
στηρια κατεστησαν. Ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib.
I. p. 32. Ταυτα παντα ο Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος
των απ' αιωνος γεγονοτων Φοινικων ιεροΦαντης, αλλη-
γορησας, τοις τε φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν ανα-
μιξας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι, και τελετων καταρχουσι
προφηταις· οι δε, του τυφου αυξειν εκ παντος επινοουντες,
τοις αυτων διαδοχοις παρεδωσαν και τοις επεριστοιχοις.
Ibid. p. 39.

Business of Analogies in things too much in other Subjects, not to be able to make something of it in this, where their Craft was so deeply interested. What think you of resolving the whole History of *Typhon* and *Osiris* into the successive Stages of the Lunar Period? You perhaps, who are unused to Speculations of this kind, may not immediately discern the Parallel here; but the Mythologists are ready to warrant the justness of it to a Nicety. *Osiris*, they will tell you, signifies the Orb of the Moon: and, whereas it is related of *Osiris* in the Sacred Traditions that he lived, or as others will have it, reigned in *Egypt* twenty-eight Years, the Number of Years, say they, answers to that of the Days in which the Moon completes her Revolution round the Earth. If *Osiris* reigned for some time in perfect Tranquility, the Affairs of his Government going on prosperously, and himself daily increasing in Reputation, this, they may observe, is fully explained by the Moon's receiving perpetual Accessions of Light during the first half of her Course. For the Faction headed by *Typhon* against this excellent Person, they will interpret it of that secret Cause in Nature which constantly diminishes the Moon's Lustre after a certain Stage of her Progress. That *Osiris* is said to have been murdered by *Typhon* on the seventeenth Day of the Month,

they will account for by informing you, that the seventeenth Day of the Moon's Age is that on which her Decrease becomes first sensible to Sight *. The Report of the Discerpsion of *Osiris*'s dead Body into fourteen Parts by his relentless Adversary they will resolve into the fourteen Days continuance of the Moon's monthly Wane. And, whereas *Typhon* is said to have distributed a Part to each of his Accomplices in the Murder of *Osiris*, they will explaine this of each Day of the Moon's Wane taking away an equal Proportion of her Light. If some Traditions represented *Osiris* to have been murdered not so much by Violence, as Stratagem, *Typhon* having, at an Entertainment to which he had ingaged him, first artfully inticed him into a Chest of the exact Measure of his Body, and then, by the Assistance of his Confederates, carried him out into the Sea; to this Relation, they will contend, exactly corresponds the hollowed Figure of the Moon's Orb previously to its total Disappearance †. But, I dare say, you have full enough of this Matter.

MUCH more (said I) than I expected could have been made of it at your first setting

* 'Εβδομη ἐπὶ δεκά τὴν Ὀσιρίδος γενεσθαι τελευτὴν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐν ἣ μαλιστα γίνεται πληρουμένη καταδῆλος ἢ πανσεληνος' Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 367.

† Plut. de Is. & Os. p. 367, 368.

setting out upon the Comparifon. Mythology, I perceive, was an excellent Defence againſt the Attacks of Pagan Sceptiſciſm. But pray what becomes of the widowed and diſconſolate *Iſis* in the Courſe of this Parallel ? She had, doubtleſs, too much Concern in the original Hiſtory here, not to find a Cor- reſpondent Part in the Fable. I will ſup- poſe therefore, that ſhe is one while the Earth regretting the dark and comfortleſs Condition of her Nights during the ſeem- ing Abſences of her Celeſtial Aſſociate ; and another while the Operation of that friendly Power in Nature, by which the gradual Decays of the old Moon are conſtantly re- paired every Month in the proportionable Increaſes of the new one.

I SEE (ſaid *Hortenfius*) you would ſoon come, *Philemon*, to be a very notable My- thologiſt. That you may have an Opportu- nity, if you think fit, of improving your Talent this way, I will leave it with you to imagine how the ſame Piece of Sacred Hiſtory in *Egypt*, which we have here only conſidered in its Accommodation to the Moon, may admit of different Explications into the Phænomena of Eclipſes — The riſings and ſettings of the Stars — The Vicif- ſitudes of Day and Night — The annual Courſe of the Sun — The ſeveral Accidents of the *Nile* — and the Oeconomy and Pro- cedure

cedure of certain of the natural Fruits of the Earth *. — Not to mention here the abstract Conceptions of Drought and Moisture——or, the two contrasted Interests of Good and Evil in the Universe, about which so much, you will recollect, was discoursed upon a former Occasion——And, when you have well settled this Matter with yourself, I shall look upon you as fully prepared to descend with me from the Consideration of *False Theory*, into that of *False Practice* in Religion in the Pagan World——of which at some other Time.

* Εώρα γὰρ τοὺς τοῦ Ἑλίου δημιουργοὺς Φαμε-
 ροὺς, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Οὔρεος καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν, καὶ πάν-
 τας τοὺς ἱερατικοὺς μύθους, ἢ εἰς ἀστέρους, καὶ τὰς
 τούτων φαυλοὺς, καὶ κρυφτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιτολὰς, ἐλιττο-
 μένους, ἢ εἰς τῆς Σελήνης αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις, ἢ
 εἰς τοῦ Ἑλίου πορείαν, ἢ το γὰρ νυκτερινὸν ἡμισφαίριον,
 ἢ το ἡμερινόν, ἢ τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν, καὶ ὅλως πάντα εἰς
 τὰ φυσικά· Ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib: 3. c: 4.
 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ φορτικοῖς επιχειρησο-
 μέν, εἰτα ταῖς καθ' ὥραν μεταβολαῖς τοῦ περιεχόντος,
 εἰτα ταῖς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεσι, καὶ σποραῖς, καὶ ἀρο-
 τοῖς χαίρουσι, τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους συνοικεῖον-
 τες, καὶ λεγόντες θάπτεσθαι μὲν τοῦ Οὔρεος, ὅτε κρυ-
 πτεται τῆς γῆς σπειρομένης ὁ καρπός, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀνα-
 ξίουσθαι, καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὅτε βλαστήσεως ἀρχή·
 Plut. de Iside & Osiride, p. 377.

Just Published,

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FUTURE REWARDS and
PUNISHMENTS believed by
the *Ancients*, particularly the Philosophers.
Wherein some Objections of the Rev. Mr.
Warburton, in his *Divine Legation of Moses*,
are considered. To which is added,

AN ADDRESS to FREE-THINKERS.

——— *Petit hinc, Juvenesque Senesque
Finem animo certum miserisque Viatica
Canis.* Perf. 5 Sat.

PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES;

RELATING

A Fifth CONVERSATION with
HORTENSIVS upon the Subject
of *False Religion*.

IN WHICH

The ORIGIN and PROGRESS of the Rite of
SACRIFICE in Antiquity is particularly
considered.

*Unde igitur fluxit — opinionum hæc pravitas? Ex eo
scilicet maxime, quod nequeunt homines quidnam sit
Deus scire—in eas sunt opinionationes lapsi, ut Deos ex
se fingerent, & qualis sibi natura est, & illis talem
darent actionum, rerum, voluntatumque naturam.
Quod si animal cernerent nullius se esse pretii, nec inter
formiculam plurimum, seque, discriminis, profecto
desinerent arbitrari quidquam se habere commune cum
superis, & intra suos fines humilitatis suæ modestiam
continere.* Arnob. advers. Gentes. Lib. 7.



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Mistakes of the Press.

P. 6. line 12, of the Notes, ἐξοθεν, for ἐξωθεν.

P. 10. line 11, of the Notes ὑπελαμβαναν, for ὑπελαμβανον.

P. 29. line 20, Sead, for Seed. And in the Notes, line 1, Behoroth, for Bchoroth.

P. 32. line 5, at Kind, read with : instead of.

P. 53. in second Ref. *Reyntlds's*, for *Reynolds's*.

P. 65. Notes, line 10, παρι, for παρ'.

P. 79. Notes, line 6, Ορνισον, for Ορνισιν.

P. 83, μελοισι, for μηλοισι.

P. 96. line 15, αμφιβεβηκας, for αμφιβεβηκας.



PHILEMON

TO

HYDASPES,
&c.

IT would have been matter of some Amusement to you, *Hydaspes*, to have surprized me, as of late you might easily have done, sitting down in good earnest to an Employment, which *Hortensius*, you may remember, had ludicrously recommended to me in the Close of our last-related Conversation, and running over all the visionary Refinements of the ancient physical Mythology.

B

As

As uninteresting a Subject as you may esteem this to be, I cannot say I have found it altogether an unentertaining one. The Fancy of the Mythos is many times ingeniously enough conceived, and the Execution of it carried on at an Expence of Art and Subtilty, which one is sorry to think should have been no better applied. With regard to the Age, or Author of this Invention, it may be safer, I believe, to tell you, it is of very great Antiquity, than to determine strictly of what. There is a Passage in the *Phœnician* History of *Sanctioniatho* relating to this matter, which, however little it may ascertain the true Æra of Physiologic Allegory, gives us at least such an Hint concerning the great Scene of its Application amongst the Ancients, as may make it worth transcribing. He informs us, “ That certain Scribes of *Taautus*, or *Mercury*, had, at his Appointment, drawn up an historical Commentary of the Transactions of the first Ages of Mankind; but that a Son of *Thabion*, the first Hierophant of the most ancient *Phœnicians*, had taken upon him to allegorize away the whole Series of Facts contained in that Record into certain Physical Affections of the material Universe; and that he delivered them down in this allegoriz’d State to his Successors in the Conduct and Explication of the *Phœni-*

“ *cian* Mysteries *.” The Historian, you find, represents the first Allegorizer of the sacred Traditions amongst the *Phœnicians* to have been likewise their first Hierophant, or Expounder of religious Mysteries. From whence, I think, ’tis natural to infer, that Allegories and Mysteries were probably coeval Institutions: which agrees very well with what Antiquity every where suggests to us of certain physical Speculations making a great part of what was taught in the chief Mysteries of Paganism †; and is moreover not a little countenanced by the general Reason

B 2

of

* Ταῦτα δὲ, φησι, πρῶτοι πάντων ὑπεμνηματίσαντο οἱ ἑπτὰ Συδεκ παῖδες Κιβειροί, καὶ οὐδοὺς αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐπέειλατο θεὸς Τάχυτος· ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίωνος παῖς, πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος γενομένων Φοινικῶν ἱεροφαντῆς, ἀλλήλορησας, τοῖς τε Φυσικαῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθετιν ἀναμιξας, παρέδωκε τοῖς ὀρφίωσι; καὶ τελετῶν κατάρχουσι προφηταῖς. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. p. 39. Ed. Vig. Par.

† Omitto Eleusinam sanctam illam & augustam,
Ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ.

Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque,

————— quæ Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur,

Silvestribus sæpibus densa;

quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. Cap. 42. Davies—— Καθολοὺ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μυθολογῶν τῇ Δημητρεῶν γῆν μητέρα προστάθρευεσθαι. Συμφωνὰ δὲ τοῦτοις εἶναι τὰ τε δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ τὰ παρῃσαδόμενα κατὰ τὰς τελετάς. Diod. Sic. Lib. 3. p. 196. Ed. Rhod.

of the thing itself; it being obvious to imagine, that, at what time the Masters of the Pagan Superstition were become wise enough to be ashamed of some of the principal Doctrines of their Religion, they should be desirous to draw a Veil of Secrecy over the corresponding Services of it.

IN the mean time, *Hydaspes*, what has been observed to you of our Uncertainty as to the real Age of mythologic Allegory shews it to have been a very early Invention in the World. Agreeably whereunto we meet either with Instances, or Intimations, of it in the most ancient Writers we have any Acquaintance with. *Orpheus* was unquestionably a great Master in this Art. *Homer*, and *Hesiod*, have both of them, we are sure, delivered several things to us in the way of Allegory, without running into the Extravagance of supposing with some of his Commentators, that the former of them in particular has scarce delivered any thing otherwise. *Herodotus*, if I mistake not, gives some Hints at this Usage in his Account of the *Egyptian* Ceremonies of Religion *. *Plato* has entered an express Caveat against it, unless under much Regulation,

* Τοις μὲν νῦν ἀλλοιοῖσι θεοῖσι θύειν ὅς οὐ δικαίους Αἰσυπλίοι· Σελήνην δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον μόνουσι· — διότι δὲ τούς ὅς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἀλλήλοις ὀρθῇσι ἀπεστύχκασι, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θεοῖσι, ἐστὶ μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅπ' Αἰσυπλίων λεγόμενος. Herod. Lib. 2. cap. 47.

lation, in the Laws of his projected Republic *. The Stoic Philosophers, as we learn from *Cicero*, were great Allegorizers in their Theology †. And in *Cicero*'s own Age we find *Varro*, one of the most ingenious and learned *Romans* of the time ||, giving much into the same way of thinking ‡. But the Season of all others in which the Practice of Allegory in Religion most prevailed with the *Pagans* was in the earlier Ages of Christianity; a Season, in which all Arts were indeed wanted to support their sinking Cause, and this in particular was most industriously employed by them to that purpose; the Advocates thereof in those Days constantly having recourse to their Physics, for the Solution of Objections to their

* Και τους ποιητας εγλυς τουτων αναδικασεν λογοποιειν. Ηρας δε δεσμους υπο υiewς, και Ηφαιστου ριψεις υπο πατρος, μελλουλος τη μητρι τυπλομενη αρμυειν, και θεομαχιας οσας Ομηρος πεποιηκεν, ου παραδεκλειον εις την πολιν, ουτ' εν υπονοιαις πεποιημενας, ουτ' ανευ υπονοιων. Plat. de Repub. Lib. 2. p. 378. Ed. Serran.

† Magnam molestiam suscepit, & minime necessariam, primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem—quod cum facitis, illud profecto confitemini—Eos, qui Di appellantur, rerum naturas esse, non figuras Deorum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 3. cap. 24. Dav.

|| Ut in Libris Academicis dicat eam quæ ibi versatur disputationem se habuisse cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facile acutissimo, & sine ullâ dubitatione doctissimo. August. de Civ. Dei Lib. 6. cap. 2.

‡ Vid. August. Lib. 6. de Civitate Dei passim.

their Faith *. But so forced a Solution was it in itself †, and such a Disagreement was there amongst them in the Management of it ||, and, even after the utmost that could be made of it, so little better did it leave things, in any rational Estimate, than it found them ‡, that the Christian Writers have no where so great an Advantage over their

* Τοιαυτά ην τα της παλαιας Θεολογιας, ην μεταβαλόντες νεοί τινες, χθες και πρωτην επιφυνέντες, λογιώτερον τε φιλοσοφειν αυχόντες, την δη φυσικωτεραν της περι Θεων δοξαν εισήκησαντο, ζεμνοτερας ευρεσιολογιας τοις μυθοις προσεπινοήσαντες, και μητε παντη των προπατέρων το πλημμελες της δυσσεβειας εκφύοντες, μητ' αυ παλιώ την αύτοθεν προφαινόμενην των Θεολογούμενων μοχθηριαν υπομεινάντες. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 74. Vig.

† Ως εκ τούτων άπαντων αλισκεσθαι, την θαυμαστην ταυτην και γενναίαν Φυσιολογίαν κατ' ουδεν αληθείας ήμμενην, ουδε τι θείου αληθώς επαίρημενην, βεβιασμενην δε, και διεψευσμενην έχουσαν την εξαθεν ζεμνολογίαν. Euseb. Præp. p. 92.

|| Μυριοις μεν ουν άλλοις των φιλοσοφειν επαγγελομένων πολλοις περι τούτων εισηκται πονος, διαφορους τας αυτων ευρεσιολογιας πεποιήμενοις, και το παρὰ ταν και δοξαν έχασω, τούτ' ειναι το αληθες απισχυρίζομενοις. Euseb. Præp. p. 82.

‡ Και ταυτη ταιγαρουν ή γενναία των Έλλήνων φιλοσοφία ως δια μηχανης πεφηνεν, εις ύψος μεν αναλίσσασα την επαγγελίαν του λογου, κήλω δε περισρεφουσα αμφι την αισθητην και φαινόμενην του Θεου δημιουργίαν την των σοφων διανοιαν. Euseb. p. 96. Ipsas Physiologias cum confidero————Nihil video nisi ad temporalia terrenaque opera, naturamque corpoream; vel etiam si invisibilem, tamen mutabilem, potuisse revocari, quod nullo modo est verus Deus. Augst. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 7. cap. 7.

their Pagan Adversaries, whether in point of Raillery or Argument, as when they are attacking them upon this very Article *. In Testimony of which, *Hydaspes*, as little a Friend as you are to the Writings of the Fathers, I could undertake to produce you some Passages from them, which you should own yourself to be pleased with, but that I have at present another Design upon you, which will be a sufficient Exercise of your Attention ; I mean, to introduce to you the following Conversation with *Hortensius*, upon the Subject of practical Superstition in the Pagan World.

* Vos Jovis & Cereris coitum Imbrem dicitis dictum telluris in gremium lapsum. Potest alius aliud & argutius fingere, & veri cum similitudine suspicari. Potest aliud tertius, potest aliud quartus ; atque ut se tulerint ingeniorum opinantium qualitates, ita singulæ res possunt infinitis interpretationibus explicari ——— Monstrate quid pro rebus singulis quas unaquæque eloquitur fabula, supponere debeamus, & promere ——— nisi forte dicetis non toto in historiæ corpore allegorias has esse, cæterum partes alias esse communiter scriptas, alias vero dupliciter, & ambifariâ obtentione velatas. Urbana est ista subtilitas. Arnob. adversus Gentes. Lib. 5. p. 227, & seq. Herald. Par.



P A R T II.

A Few Days since, as we were sitting carelessly together, after some little Pause in Discourse, (said *Hortensius* to me) you have been of late, *Philemon*, so much taken up with the Writers of the old physical Mythology, that I begin, methinks, to look upon you as a complete Allegorist.

IF you really think (said I) I have made so good use of my time that way, you must give me leave to remind you of a Claim you lately gave me upon you, so soon as I should have made a competent Progress in that Affair, the ingaging you to proceed with me from the Consideration of false Theory, to that of false Practice in Religion in the Pagan World. We are alone, *Hortensius*—you seem to be quite at leisure this Afternoon——When can you have a better Opportunity for this purpose?

You do not expect (said he) I dare say, *Philemon*, that, in so wide a Range of Error and Absurdity, as the speculative Superstition of the Ancients, such as it has been

been lately represented to you, evidently gave to their practical, I should distinctly insist on every minute Article of their religious Ceremonial. The Task, you cannot but be sensible, would be almost endless; besides that it is moreover no ways necessary to the main Scope of our present Disquisition. All I would propose therefore is, to lay before you some of the more striking Particulars of the Pagan Worship; which, when I shall have explained to you, in the best manner I am able, either from the general Reason of the things themselves, or the Lights Antiquity has afforded us concerning them, I shall look upon myself as having fully discharged the Promise you lay claim to from me. In the pursuit then of this Design, *Philemon*, I know not where more deservedly to bespeak your Attention in the first place, than to the Rite of Sacrifice: a Practice, as we learn from the most ancient History extant in the World, which commenced almost from the Foundation of it; and which has ever since universally prevailed, as to its more general Notion, whilst the frivolous Caprice of Superstition has in nothing, perhaps, more signally displayed itself, than in the almost infinite Variety of Distinctions introduced into the particular Exercise of it.

THE Practice itself (interrupted I) *Hortensius*, is to me a Matter of much greater

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Embarassment, than any of the different Modifications of it : For that indeed once admitted, the particular Character or Conception of the Divinity, to whom at any time Sacrifice was to be performed, would naturally enough suggest some suitable Particularities to be observed, both in the Matter and Manner of it. In the mean while, the Thought of sacrificing at large, the general Notion of the thing itself, is to my Apprehension, in every View of it, so glaring an Absurdity, that I am amazed it should ever enter into the Head of any rational Creature. For the very Idea of a Divine Being implies in it such a superior Excellency of Nature, as to be wholly out of the reach of our good Offices : And, as *Socrates*, I remember, in *Plato*, somewhere prettily observes, he must know very little of the Art of giving, who makes a Present to any Person of what he has no want of *. But even could it be supposed, either that
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* Σωκρ. Ἀρ οὐν το γε ορθῶς αἰτεῖν αὐ εἶη, ὥν δεομεθα παρ' ἐκείνων, (τῶν θεῶν) ταῦτα αὐτοὺς αἰτεῖν ; Εὐθυφρ. Ἄλλο τι ; Σωκ. καὶ αὐτο δίδουσι ορθῶς, ὥν ἐκεῖνοι τυλ-
χανουσι δεομενοὶ παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτα ἐκείνοις αὐ ἀντιδώ-
ρεισθαι ; οὐ γὰρ πού τεχνικόν γ' αὐ εἶη δωροφορεῖν δίδοντα
τῶ ταῦτα ὥν οὐδὲν δεῖται. Plat. in Euthyphrone, p. 14.
Serr. The Philosopher's Reply, when he was accused
of not sacrificing to *Minerva*, was a very just one.
Μηθαυμασθε (εφη) ὦ Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον
αὕτη Εἴθυσα· οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτὴν τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ
θύσιων ἵπελαρμθαναν. Lucian. in Demon. p. 380.
2 vol. Amst. 4to.

the Gods wanted any Accession to be made to their original Happiness, or that it was in any wise within the Power of Man to give it them, still surely the very lowest possible Conception of their Divinity must, one would think, have placed them above the mean Tribute of a little Barley, or Frankincense, the Steams of a Victim, or the Fumes of a Libation, for this purpose. And yet, it seems, so very differently were they used to be thought of by the greater part of their deluded Votaries, that a polite and knowing Ancient has represented them to us, upon the System of popular Apprehension in the Case, as intent upon scarce any thing besides: Eternally looking about after the Smoke of some Altar, to the utter Neglect of the great Concerns of Providence; and, as often as they had the good Fortune to catch the least Scent of a Sacrifice, descending eagerly to their Banquet, gaping over the Steam, and sucking in the Blood, of the poor Animal that was the Subject of it, with the Greediness of so many Flies *. Agreeably to which Character, we find *Jupiter* in the same Author,

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* Μῶμος — και μοι ενταυθα, ω Ζευ, (μονοι γαρ εσμεν) αποκριναι μοι μετ' αληθειας, ει ποτε ζοι εμελησεν ες τοσούτου των εν τη γη, ως εξετασαι οι τινες αυτων οι Φαυλοι, η οι τινες οι χρηστοι εισιν; Αλλ' ουκ αυ ειποις· — αλλ', ει χρη τ' αληθη λεγειν, καθημεθα, τούτο μο-

in one place expressing his Apprehensions for his Fellow Gods in general, lest they should all of them, in a short time, come to be quite famished, by the growing Success of *Epicurus's* Philosophy in the World *; and in another, complaining to *Menippus*, upon his own account in particular, that,

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του επιτηρουντες, ει τις θυει, και κνισσα περι τους βωμους· τα δ' αλλα κατα ρουν φερεται, ως αν τυχοι εκαστον, παρασυρομενα. *Lucian. Jup. Trag.* 2 vol. 4to. p. 666, 667. Ed. Amst. 'Οι δε θεοι παρ Ζηνι καθημενοι (πρεπει γαρ οιμαι ανω οντα μεγαλησσειν) αποσκοπουσιν ες την γην, και παντη περιελεπουσιν επικυπτουτες, ειποθεν οφονται πυρ αναπλομενον, η αναφερομενην κνισσαν

— — — ελίσσομενην περι καπνω

κην μεν θυη τις, ευωχουνται πάντες, επικεχηνότες τω καπνω, και το αιμα πινοντες τοις βωμοις προσχεομενον, ως περ αι μυiai. *Luc. de Sac.* p. 533. vol. i. Ed. Amst.

* Ο μεν ουν παρων καιρος, ω θεοι, μονουουχι λειπει, φωνη αφιεις, οτι των παρουντων ερρωμενως αντιληπτεον ημιν εστι.—ευρισκω δε τον Επικουρειον Δαμιν, τον επιτριπτον, και Τιμοκλεα του Στωικου, ανδρων Βελτιστου, εκθυμως παυι εριζουσας.—ην δε αρχη περι ημων ο πας λοφος αυτοις· ο μεν γαρ καταρατος Δαμης, ουτε προνοειν ημας εφασκε των ανθρωπων, ουτε επισκοπειν τα γινομενα παρ' αυτοις, ουδεν αλλο, η μηδε ολως ημας ειναι λειων.—κατω παρομαρτων τοις πολλοις επηκουον, μεταξυ απιστων οικαδε, παρ' αυτους επαινουσων τα του Δαμιδος, και ηδη παρα πολυ αιρουμενων τα εκεινου.—ταυτ' εστιν εφ' οις ημας συνεκαλεσα· ου μικρα, ω θεοι, ει λοβιζεσθε ως η πασα μεν ημιν τιμη, και δοξα, και προσοδοι, οι ανθρωποι εστιν· ειδ' ουτοι πεισθειεν η μηδε ολως θεους ειναι, η ο.τας, απρονοητους ειναι σφων αυτων, αθυια, και αγειρασκα, και ατιμα ημιν εσαι τα εκ γης, και

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through the superior Vogue some of the other Gods had been in for some time past upon Earth, his Altars, which had used to be the most frequented ones, were become colder than *Plato's* Laws, or *Chrysippus's* Syllogisms *. I might go on to observe here the extreme Folly of supposing, that the Gods should ever be pleased with the mere useless Waste of their own Productions; or, in the Case of Animal-Sacrifice in particular, should consider, as an Act of acceptable Religion, the Destruction of a Life, of which they had so exquisitely provided for the Continuance. I might take notice of the very degrading Idea it gives one of their Goodness, to consider them

ματην εν ουρανῳ καθεδουμεθα λιμῳ εχομενοι, ἑορτῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ πανηγυρεων, καὶ ἀγωνων, καὶ θυσιαων, καὶ παννυχιδων, καὶ πομπων, σερουμενοι. *Jup. Trag. p. 658—663.* Ὅι δὲ δὴ Ἐπικουρειοὶ αὐτῶν λεγομενοι μαλακὰ δὴ καὶ ὕβρις-αὶ εἰσι, καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἡμῶν καθάπτοῦνται. — διότι ἡν ἅπαξ οὗτοι πρὸς τὸν βίον δυνήθωσιν, οὐ μετρίως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον. *Icaromen. p. 788, 789. 2 vol. 4to.*

* Εξ οὗ δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς μὲν Ἀπολλῶν τὸ μαντεῖον κατέστητο, ἐν Περγᾶμω δὲ τὸ ἰατρικὸν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, καὶ τὸ βενδιδεῖον ἐγένετο ἐν Θρᾷκῃ, καὶ τὸ Ἀνουβειδίου ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἅπαντες θεοῦσι, καὶ πανηγυρεῖς ἀναγοῦσι, καὶ ἑκατομβὰς παρίστανει, ἐμὲ δὲ, ὥσπερ παρηθηκότα, ἱκανῶς τετιμηκεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ πάντων ὅλων ἐτῶν θυσῶσιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ· τοιγαρὺν ψυχροτέρους ἀντὶ μου τοὺς βῶμους ἰδοὺς τῶν Πλατωνέως νομῶν, ἢ τῶν Χρυσίππου συλλογισμῶν. *Icaromen. p. 780, 781. 2 vol. Ed. Amst.*

them as entering into a kind of Merchandize with Mankind in the matter of their Favours; The ill Use natural to be made of so venal a Conception of them; and the Difficulty which must often arise to Beings of such a mercenary Disposition from rival Applications to their Interests, on both sides of a Petition: A Circumstance, under which, in the Writer but now mentioned, we have the great *Father of Gods and Men* introduced upon a certain Occasion, as so cruelly embarrassed, that He even suffered all the Perplexity of a Philosopher of the Academy; was unable to determine on the behalf of either Party in the Suit; and, like *Pyrrho*, from the equal Moment of contrary Reasons in the Point, stood reduced to a State of absolute Suspense and Scepticism *. But there is indeed no Measure, *Hortensius*, to the Ridicule of this Subject.

I AM very ready to agree with you, (said he) that the general Notion of sacrificing is altogether as extraordinary, as it appears to have

* *Επι μιας δε τινος ευχης και απορουσια αυτου θεα-
σαμην· δυο γαρ ανδρων ταναντια ευχομενων, και τας
ισας θυσιαις υπισχυομενων, ουκ ειχευ οποτερω μαλλον
επινευσειεν αυτων· ωστε, δη το Ακαδημαϊκον εκεινο επε-
πουθει, και ουδεν τι αποφνηασθαι δυνατος ην, αλλ',
ωσπερ ο Πυρρων, επειχευ επι και διεσκεπτετο. Icaromen.
p. 783. Amst.*

have been universal in the World. There is indeed so little seeming Foundation in any just Reasoning for a Practice of this Nature, that many Writers have been for resolving the Original of it into a positive Institution from Heaven.

As if (said I) the Circumstance of a Command in this Case made any Difference as to the intrinsic Nature of the thing; or, what were just Exceptions to Sacrifice, before it was appointed, were not equally such afterwards. This puts me in mind of the Conduct of a Debate in *Plutarch* about the poetic Talents of the famed *Pythian* Oracle. Some Friends were accompanying a young Stranger they had with them to a Sight of *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi*; the Persons who used to attend upon such Occasions in shewing the Temple had, in the Course of their Office, recited a certain Oracle of their God's, delivered, as was his more ancient way of delivering his Oracles, in Metre. The Stranger hereupon could not help expressing some Surprise, that the Poetry of *Apollo*, the great Patron of the Art itself, should fall so much below that of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, in the Beauty and Elegance of its Composition. Upon which *Serapion*, one of the Party, and himself a Poet, observed to him, that, as the Oracle came from *Apollo*, the Dress of it must
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needs be unexceptionable, however otherwise it might appear, through the Prejudice of a vicious Custom of judging in that Affair. Divine Compositions were not to be measured by human Standards; and it was much rather to be supposed, that Men might have made a false Estimate of what was Excellent in Poetry, than that the God of Verse himself should not excel in it *. So staunch, you see, was *Serapion's* Orthodoxy in the Point, that he chose rather to renounce his very Senses upon the Hypothesis of an Inspiration, than, as was the more natural Proceeding, to give up the Hypothesis of an Inspiration to the clear Evidence of his Senses. Now, is it not, think you, a way of arguing, in the Writers you was speaking of, somewhat like to that of *Sera-*

* Χρησμου δε τινος εμμετρου λεχθεντος — πολλακις εφη θαυμασαι των επων ο Διογενειανος, εν οις οι χρησμοι λεγονται, την φαυλοτητα και την ευτελειαν· καιτοι μουσηγετης ο θεος, και της λεγομενης λογιότητος ουχ ηττον αυτω το καλον, η της περι μελη και ωδας, και ευφωνιας μετειναι, και πολυ του Ησιοδου ευεπεια και του Όμηρου υπερφθειρεσθαι· τους δε πολλους των χρησμων ορωμεν και τοις μετροις, και τοις ονομασι, πλημμελειας και φαυλοτητος αναπεπλεγμενους· παρων ουν Αθηνηθεν ο ποιητης Σεραπιων, Ειτα, εφη, ταυτα τα επη του θεου ωις-ευοντες ειναι, το ασωμου ουν παλιν, ως λεγεται, καλλει των Όμηρου και Ησιοδου λεγειν, ου χρησομεθα τουτοις ως αριστα και καλλιστα πεποιημενοις, επανορθουμενοι την αυτων κρισιν προκατειλημμενην υπο φαυλης συνηθειας. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 396. Xyl.

Serapion here, that they should urge, as a satisfactory Solution of the Problem of Sacrifice, its being instituted at the Command of God, when they have before pronounced it to be unworthy even of the weak and depraved Reason of Man * ?

I HAVE a better Opinion (reply'd *Hortensius*) of the Pleasantry of this Representation, *Philemon*, than, I must own, I have of its Justness. When the Writers, I was speaking of, condemn Sacrifice as a very absurd Practice, they consider it, you are to suppose, as abstracted from what they conceive to have been the true Reason of it. This, they contend, is only to be learnt from Scripture, which affords us the only unexceptionable Account of the Origin of this Rite, when it gives us to understand, it was immediately ordained of God, with a View to a particular Purpose of his Providence.

I THOUGHT (said I) I had been no Stranger to the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, where the first Mention is made of Sacrifice in the Sacred Writings. I do not remember any thing there, which should seem to countenance such a Notion : The Historian is indeed careful to acquaint us with
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* See Revelation examined with Candour, vol. 1. p. 125, and following ones, particularly p. 131.

the very different Acceptance of the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*; but observes, so far as I recollect, a profound Silence, as to the particular Motives of them.

BUT another inspired Author, they say, (returned He) has abundantly supplied that Omission; the Author, I mean, of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. He informs us, that it was *by Faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice than Cain* * : By which is to be understood, they tell us, a Faith in some positive Revelation, in consequence whereof he performed an acceptable Sacrifice to his Maker, which, otherwise, he could not have done †.

I SHOULD be glad to know here (said I) to whom the Revelation pretended was first made? Whether to *Abel* himself, or, before his time, to *Adam*? For, if the Injunction of sacrificing was first given to *Adam*, there can be no Doubt, I suppose, but he would take care to communicate it equally to both his Sons: And thus, it would seem, that the Merit both of *Cain* and *Abel*, so far as their particular Action of sacrificing only was concerned, must have been altogether the same in the sight of

* Heb. xi. ver. 4.

† See Shuckford's Connection, &c. vol. I. p. 86, 87.—Rev. Ex. vol. I. p. 133—4—5.

of God, inasmuch as they both acted in that Affair upon the same common Principle of Obedience to his positive Institution. Or if, on the other hand, the Command of Sacrifice was a personal one to *Abel*, (not to observe, that the Reason of such Command, whatever it might be, can hardly be thought not to have extended to *Cain*, as well as *Abel*) a Difficulty sure will arise upon this View of the Case, whence it came to pass, that *Cain* was so much surprised, as he appears to have been, at the different Reception his Offering met with from his Brother's *, when he could not but reflect there was so very good a Reason for it, as that the latter was made at an express Warrant from the Receiver, whereas, the former was the unauthorized Result of his own officious Inclination ?

THE Advocates for the divine Origin of Sacrifice (returned He) have a Distinction here, which you have overlooked. They contend, that the first Command of Sacrifice, to whomsoever addressed, was of an animal, or bloody Sacrifice only ; the Design thereof being to exhibit to Mankind a Memorial of Death's being the appointed Punishment of the first Man's Transgression, and at the same time to give them Hopes of some future Release from that Punish-

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* Gen. iv. ver. 5.

ment to be obtained through the Mercy of their Creator; to neither of which Ends, you will observe, had *Cain's* Offering of the *Fruits of the Ground* any manner of Subserviency. His Fault therefore lay, not in the unwarranted Use of Sacrifice, *as such*, but in the Choice of an unwarranted Subject for it *.

THE Difficulty (I interposed) about *Cain's* Surprise and Disappointment is not in the least better solved upon this Hypothesis, than the former. But to let that pass, *Hortensius*, the Demand, methinks, of the Life of a perfectly innocent Creature, to be offered up in Sacrifice upon this Occasion to God, could give but small Encouragement to hope, that God intended to favour a guilty one. Then, as to Sacrifices being instituted in Memory of Death's being the Punishment of Sin, there seems to have been but little need of appointing the Slaughter of other Animals as Monuments to Mankind of a Fact, which, in the course of things, every Man would be but too frequently reminded of in Subjects of his own Species, and of which he was one day to make the fatal Experiment himself in his own proper Person.

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* See Shuck. Con. Vol. 1. p. 81—2—to 88. Rev. Exam. Vol. 1. p. 135—6. 140—1—2 3.

You seem to have forgot (said *Hortensius*) to what a Number of Years the Life of Man was extended in the first Ages of the World: a Circumstance, it has been thought, which made it necessary to our first Parents to have some nearer Information, what Death, the Penalty of their Transgression, was, than by waiting for the Execution of it upon themselves, or some of their Posterity; otherwise, their Idea of the Punishment of Sin would come too late, to give them a proper Sense of the Evil of it. You cannot conceive, *Philemon*, with what a pathetic Eloquence this Subject is treated by a modern Author. The *Groans*, the *Struggles* of the poor expiring Animals destined to give *Adam* and *Eve* their first *Lectures* of Mortality.— Their Contemplation of these Animals in their *dead Eyes*, and *cold Carcasses*, before they were placed upon the *Altar*— and in the sad Reduction of their *Beauty and Excellence to an Handful of Dust afterwards* ——— Under a Reflection all this while, that the melancholy Spectacle before their Eyes was an Effect of their unhappy Misconduct ——— and that they themselves were one day *to follow the same odious Steps to Destruction*—are painted by him with all the Heightenings of the most tender Imagery *. And if the Scene could

* Rev. Exam. Vol. I. p. 144—5—6.

could be thus affecting in its Picture only, what an exquisite Distress must have attended it in its original Exhibition? So exquisite indeed, in our Author's Conception, that it would have gone nigh to have evacuated the very End of its own Appointment; and, instead of acquainting our first Parents with the Nature only of their Doom, have driven them to a violent Anticipation of it upon themselves, if, at the same time that it was such a Lecture of Terror to them, it had not likewise been a Lecture of Mercy; as impressing them at once with the Idea of their Punishment, and with the Hope of being some way, or other, to be finally discharged from it*.

WITH regard (said I) to the first of these Uses of Sacrifice, it would have been better suited to that Part of its Intendment, if it had been instituted before the Fall, rather than after it. For never surely did it so much import Mankind to have a due Apprehension of the Miseries of Death, as before they had incurred the Sentence of it. Then, indeed, a Representation of it to their Minds, in all its most aggravated Horrors, might have been a very useful Piece of Caution to them: But when once the irrevocable Decree was passed against them, *Dust thou art, and to Dust shalt thou return,*

* See as before, p. 146—7.

turn *, the Information supposed could serve only to inhance the Wretchedness of their Condition ; as giving them a more exquisite Dread of their Sentence, when it was wholly out of their power to escape the Execution of it. And, as to the other Use of Sacrifice, its conveying Hopes of Pardon, and Mercy to fallen Mankind, I am altogether, as I before hinted, to seek, *Hortensius*, for the Grounds of such an Interpretation of it. There is at least, I think, nothing of this kind implied in the Nature of the Rite itself.

THE Foundation of this Hypothesis (replied He) is laid in the Sentence pronounced by God upon the Serpent immediately after the Fall of our first Parents : A Season, you know, in which they had but just received a most fatal Mischief from him ; under which it could be but a cold Consolation to them to be told, that they, and their Posterity, should every now and then give him an accidental *Bruise* upon the Head, and that too frequently at the Expence of being Sufferers themselves in the very Act of doing it †. Interpreters therefore, in mere Good-nature to the two unhappy Delinquents upon this Occasion, have thought it necessary to give this Sentence

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* Gen. iii. ver. 19.

† Gen. iii. ver. 15.

an higher Meaning: Some supposing it to contain a general Promise only of Mercy to Man; whilst others have gone so far as to contend, that the gracious Wisdom of God so ordered this Affair, as, under the *very* Penalty denounced against the hated Instrument of Man's Ruin, to afford him a kind of mystic Intimation of the *particular Means* of his Recovery. Of the former of these Opinions is the Author I last mentioned to you; who, having discovered a general *Covenant of Mercy* in the Sentence before us, finds so singular an Aptness in the Rite of Sacrifice, spoken of almost immediately afterwards in the *Mosaic History*, to become the *Seal* of this Covenant, that he will not suffer you to make the least doubt, but that it was instituted for that purpose. I will read you a few of his own Words, *Philemon*:—“ That God entered into a Cove-
 “ nant of Mercy with Man, immediately
 “ after the Fall, is *evident* from the Sen-
 “ tence passed upon the Serpent: in which
 “ a Covenant of Mercy is *necessarily* im-
 “ plied. And can we doubt, that Sacri-
 “ fices were the Seal of that Covenant?
 “ Especially, when Mercy is so *plainly* im-
 “ plied in the very Nature of the Institu-
 “ tion; which teaches, that tho' Life be
 “ the Forfeit of Sin, yet God will in
 “ mercy accept another Life in lieu of the
 “ Offender's?”—“ We find that God's usual
 “ Way

“ Way of ratifying Covenants of Mercy
 “ with Mankind, in After-Ages, was by
 “ Sacrifices ; and can we imagine, that he
 “ failed to do so, when such Mercy was
 “ more wanted, than ever it was since the
 “ Foundation of the World ? and when
 “ such an Establishment is *demonstrably* one
 “ main Reason of the very Institution of
 “ Sacrifices ? Is it to be imagined, that
 “ God should take care of the Health of
 “ our Parents Bodies on this Occasion,
 “ and take none of the Peace of their
 “ Minds ? Is it to be imagined, that God
 “ should, soon after this, shew so much
 “ Solitude for an hardened Murtherer, for
 “ so vile a Wretch as *Cain* ; and take none
 “ now about two unhappy Delinquents,
 “ oppressed with Misery, and at the very
 “ Point of Despair ? Had he so much
 “ Mercy soon after upon one Man ; and
 “ would he have none now upon the whole
 “ Race of Mankind, yet in *Adam* ? ” —

Thus our Author --- than whom, I believe,
 it will not be easy to find a Man of a
 happier Talent at realizing his own Fancies.
 But I could soon forgive him this, if he
 was not altogether as imposing, as he is
 fanciful. The truth is, the *Candour* he
 promises us in his Title-Page seems, in a
 manner, to have evaporated there, by the
 little we meet with of it in his Performance.

I KNOW not (interrupted I) *Hortensius*, whether you will allow me the Expression, but I have often thought, there is a sort of Persecution in Logic, as well as in Religion : When Men of a warm and dogmatic Temper have no sooner passed off a weak Argument upon themselves under the Conceit of a Demonstration, but, with the idolatrous Prince we read of in Scripture, they immediately *make a Decree to all People, Nations, and Languages, that, at what time they hear the Sound of their peremptory Decisions, they fall down and worship the Golden Image*, which these Tyrants in Speculation, *have set up* *. But to return from this Digression, *Hortensius*—If Men must set themselves to interpret so very obscure a Text of Scripture, as that of the Sentence passed upon the Serpent, they do, however, I think, act with more Modesty, when they consider it as a general Covenant of Mercy only, than when they decypher it of the more explicit Promise of a Redeemer : Surely, this is by much too precise a Determination in a Question of such notorious Uncertainty.

HERE likewise, (resumed *Hortensius*) as in the Hypothesis of a general Covenant of Mercy, *Philemon*, the Institution of Sacrifice is brought upon the Stage, to confirm the

* Dan. Chap. iii. ver. 4, 5, 10.

the Truth of the Interpretation ; it being, as is pretended, a symbolical Exhibition of the Subject of the Prophecy supposed, a *Figure of the true Offering which was afterwards to be made for the Sins of Men* *. If you are not disposed to acquiesce in the obvious Fitness of the Rite of Sacrifice in its own Nature to typify this *Offering*, but require some positive Proof from Scripture, that it did so, you will be told, that a typical Reference to Christ is at large asserted by the Apostle to the *Hebrews* in certain of the legal Sacrifices. Now, *Sacrifices were not a new Institution at the giving of the Law, and the Rules which Moses gave about Sacrifices and Oblations were, 'tis probable, only a Revival of the ancient Institutions* in that matter †. But then, you are to observe, that the same Writer, who says this, says also, that there were *some few Additions or Improvements* made to them under the Law, which God thought proper for the State and Circumstances, through which he designed to carry the Jewish Nation ‡. And what if the strongest Articles of Reference to the *Messiah* were of the number of these *Additions and Improvements*? A very precarious Inference sure it must be, from the typical Reference of Sacrifices under the

E 2 Law

* Shuck. Con. vol. i. p. 84.

† Shuck. p. 84, 85.

‡ See as before.

Law to Christ, to the typical Reference of Sacrifices before the Law, when all the more *emphatical* Circumstances of this Reference, in the former Case, appear to have been wanting in the latter *. And yet it happens still more unfortunately for this Theory of typical Reference, that it is doubtful, at least, whether the very Sacrifice most insisted on in this Argument, so far from being a figurative Shedding of the Blood of Christ, was so much as a real Shedding of that of an Animal. This however is worth our Notice, that the contrary Sentiment has been espoused by Commentators of the first Class in biblical Criticism : *Grotius* understanding the Account of *Abel's* Sacrifice in *Genesis* of an Oblation of *Wool and Cream* from *some more distinguished Animal of his Flock* †; and *Mr. Le Clerc*, still more probably,

* Neque tuto asseritur Abelem, Noachum, aliosque Mole priores, in Sacrificiis suis Christi sacrificandi prophetiam quandam realem exhibere studuisse; cum hoc Scriptura nusquam dixerit, & Sacrificia Patriarchalia circumstantiis quibusdam emphaticis, Lege postea præscriptis, destituta fuerint. *Spencer. de Leg. Hebræorum*, Tom. 2. p. 772. Ed. Chappel. Conf. *Outram. de Sac. cap. 1. p. 18.*

† Cum nihil Deo sacrari soleat, nisi quod in usu sit hominum, Animantibus autem vesci ante Diluvium, ut probabilior fert sententia, permissum non fuerit, dici posset, oblatam Lanam & Lac pinguisimum, quod hic pinguedo vocetur. — Primogenita autem quæ hic dicuntur, ex Hebræo liceat interpretari ea quæ eximæ erant Magnitudinis ac Formæ. — Hæc probabiliter dici possunt. *Grot. Annot. ad Gen. cap. 4. Com. 3.*

bably, I think, of an Offering of *Cream only from a Firstling of it* †. Should we take the Sense, *Philemon*, of these Gentlemen in the Point (and none, I am sure, have a better Title to our Submission) what a Multitude of fine Speculations about the Reasons and Intendments of *Abel's* Sacrifice might we compendiously dispatch, by a new rendering only in our Bible of two or three Words in a Sentence! Particularly, what will become, in this view of things, of a learned Author's Account of the superior Acceptableness of *Abel's* Sacrifice to *Cain's*, as being *founded upon the Expectation of a Messiah*? Upon his believing *what God had promised, that "the Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's Head;"* and in consequence of such Belief offering such a Sacrifice for his Sins, as God had appointed to be offered, "until the Seed should come *?" Or, of the Solution of this Problem proposed to us by the *candid Examiner of Revelation*, now before me, to the following Effect?—That "*Abel, tho' a better Man, offered such a Sacrifice as plainly implied a Consciousness of Guilt which called for Atonement; and consequently his was a Sacrifice of Repentance; confessing Guilt,*" and

† Mallet vocem Behoroth sensu interpretari proprio, ut sit hic ἐν δια θυοῖν, *de primogenitis pecudum suarum, & de Adipe earum, αὐτὶ τοῦ de Adipe, aut de Lacte primogenitarum pecudum.* Cleric. Comment. in Gen. Cap. 4. Com. 3.

* Shuck. Con. Vol. I. p. 85—87.

“ and imploring Pardon ; and *as such* was ac-
 “ cepted of God---whereas *Cain*, tho’ a worse
 “ Man, expected to be accepted without
 “ Repentance or Atonement — And this
 “ seems very *clearly* implied in God’s An-
 “ swer to him ; “ If thou dost well, shalt
 “ thou not be accepted ? and if thou dost
 “ not well, Sin lieth at the door ;” that is,
 “ if you are righteous and unfinning, you
 “ shall be accepted as such without Sacri-
 “ fice——but if you are unrighteous, Sin
 “ lieth at your door, and must lie there,
 “ till it is removed by Repentance and A-
 “ tonement, (*doubtless* such Atonement as
 “ God himself had before appointed * ?”)

I ALL along thought (interrupted I) that
 the Sin which introduced Death into the
 World, and Sacrifice by way of Memorial
 of it, had been that of our first Parents in
 Paradise. Now, methinks, it was some-
 what needless for *Abel* to offer a *Sacrifice of*
Repentance for a Crime which he had never
 committed in his own Person, and with
 which he became chargeable by Imputation
 only ; a kind of Guilt, which could give
 him, surely, but a moderate Degree of
 Contrition ; at least not a sufficient one, to
 keep him at such an awful Distance from
 his beneficent Creator, as, that he should
 not dare to approach him with Thanks for
 the common Blessings of his Providence,
 till

till he had first expiated an Offence for which he stood so improperly accountable*. An Offence, indeed, whereof both he, and his Brother, had so much less an Interest in the Demerit, than they unfortunately were to have in the Penalty, that I can scarce imagine the latter of them would ever have been reproached with *doing ill*, if he had not some other way transgressed, than in the Loins of his Father. And yet again, *Hortensius*, if our Author supposes here, that both *Cain* and *Abel* stood obnoxious to Death, in consequence of their own personal Transgressions, we must then desire him to explain to us, what *St. Paul* means by asserting, *that Sin is not imputed*, is not valued at any certain, determinate Price (as a great Commentator interprets this Place) *where there is no Law* † : Or else, to shew us some other Law, besides those to *Adam*, or *Moses*, which had the Penalty of Death positively annexed to it. But there is indeed little Occasion to press this matter any farther, as the Account you have been giving me of the Subject of *Abel's* Sacrifice strikes equally at the Expiatory, as at the Typical Quality of it.

NOR will the Probability of that Account (said He) be at all weakened by what is sometimes urged as an Objection
to

* Rev. Exam. p. 136.

† Mr. Locke's Paraph. and Notes on Rom, v, ver. 13. Locke's Works, Fol. Vol. 3. p. 281—2.

to it, that the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, in speaking of *Abel's* Offering, calls it *θυσια*, and not *προσφορα*, or *δωρον*, as he would rather, it is argued, have done, had it been of an inanimate Kind *. It being notorious, that the word *θυσια* is several times used in Scripture of an inanimate Oblation †; not to observe, that with regard to the particular Sacrifice in question, the same Apostle, who calls it *θυσια* in one Clause of the Passage referred to, calls it *δωρον* in another ||. Tho' after all, *Philemon*, should it be allowed, that the Sacrifice we are speaking of was really an Animal-one, even yet it may be questioned, whether it had the Nature of an Expiation: Seeing we have it upon the Authority of a learned Divine, who had considered well this whole Subject of Sacrifices, that the very next Instance of Animal-Sacrifice which occurs in the *Mosaic* History, the *Burnt-Offerings* which *Noah* offered unto the Lord upon his going forth out of the *Ark*, was a Sacrifice, not of

* Shuck. Con. Vol. i. p. 81, 82.

† Εαν δε ψυχη προσφερη δωρον θυσιαν τω Κυριω, ζεμιδαλις εσται το δωρον αυτου, και επιχρει επ' αυτο ελαιου, και επιθησει επ' αυτο λιθων. *θυσια* εστι. *Levit. Cap. 2. Com. 1.* Πας γαρ πυρι αλισθησεται και πασα θυσια αλι αλισθησεται. *Marc. ix. 49. Vid. Grot. in Epist. ad Heb. cap. viii. 3. cap. v. 1.*

|| Πιστει πλειονα θυσιαν Αβελ παρα Καιν προσηνεγκε τω Θεω, δι' ης εμαρτυρηθη ειναι δικαιος, μαρτυρουτος επι τοις δωροις αυτου του Θεου. *Heb. xi. 4.*

of Atonement, but Eucharist* : a Testimony of his Thankfulness to Heaven, on the behalf of himself and his Family, for their privileged Exemption from a Fate, which had involved all the rest of Mankind †.

A SACRIFICE of Eucharist (said I) was really the only one that could be at all suitable to the present Occasion. For, with regard to the exclusive Body of Mankind, they had already perished for their Sins, beyond the power of an Atonement to avert their Condemnation; and, with regard to *Noah* and his particular Family, they had, methinks, already so sensible a Conviction afforded them of their past Sins being remitted to their utmost Wish, that they had little need to think of expiating them any farther. Gratitude to their Deliverer, and Joy in their Deliverance, were the only Affections of Mind which their present Situation called for : unless we may add now and then a compassionate Retrospect to the Case of their lost Contemporaries, at once to inhance to them the Value of their Rescue, and to restrain

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them

* Gen. viii. ver. 20.

† Noas enim Deo gratias agens de salute sibi, suisque datâ, cum reliquum omne mortalium Genus aquarum diluvio perisset, Holocausta Deo immolabat. Outram. de Sac. p. 110.

them from a too licentious Exultation under the Sense of it.

BEFORE we quit this Topic (resumed. *Hortensius*) of the Institution of Sacrifice at the Command of God, besides the particular Arguments hitherto alledged against it, I must not omit a very strong presumptive one in general, which arises from the constant Silence of the *Mosaic* History as to any such Command, notwithstanding the frequent Occasions which offer themselves there for the Mention of it, if indeed a Command of this nature had ever been given. I will propose this Argument to you in the words of the Author so often already quoted, to shew you how much better he can state a Difficulty for us, than, you will find, he has answered it. — “ If *Moses* knew
 “ that Sacrifices were originally instituted
 “ by God, with Marks of Acceptance, as
 “ in the Case of *Abel* — why did he not
 “ give a clear, distinct Account of the In-
 “ stitution, and the Manner of Accep-
 “ tance *?” — The Answer, it seems, is —
 “ Because such a Relation was unnecessary.
 “ The *Jews*, to whom he wrote, knew
 “ very well, that their own Sacrifices were
 “ of divine Institution, and that God had
 “ manifested his Acceptance of them, upon
 “ the first solemn Oblation after their In-
 “ stitution

* Revelation Exam. p. 136.

“stitution, by a miraculous Fire from the
 “Divine Presence; and they could have no
 “Reason to doubt, that they were so in-
 “stituted, and so accepted, from the Begin-
 “ning. Nor needed they to be informed of a
 “Truth, which, *doubtless, a clear, uninter-*
 “*rupted* Tradition had long made familiar to
 “them*.”--What a flowing Solution, *Phile-*
mon, is here! how striking upon the whole!
 and how unexceptionable in every distinct Part
 of it! Should not an *Infidel, who had any Re-*
mains of Modesty, blush to oppose his vain and
 sceptical Surmisings to the rational Deductions
 of such a Master in Argument? An Au-
 thor, every Stroke almost of whose Pen is
 the Decision of some Controversy, and who
 scarce writes a Sentence, but it comprises
 a Demonstration? Was not his Character,
 think you, happily drawn by an elegant and
 acute Writer of our Acquaintance, when
 he described him to us, as *the very Hero of*
Modern Orthodoxy; the Scourge of Infidels;
allowed to have a better Fancy for ingenious
Solutions, than all the other Vindicators of
Scripture put together †? Should we how-
 ever ask this Gentleman here, upon what
 Grounds he so confidently asserts an uni-
 versal Persuasion in the Jewish Nation of
 the divine Original of Sacrifices, or where
 F 2 he

* Revelation Exam. p. 137.

† Remarks on some Observations addressed to the
 Author of the Letter to Dr. *Waterland*, p. 10.

he meets with that *clear uninterrupted Tradition* of this Fact amongst them, which he delivers with such an Air of Certainty and Assurance, he would be at a loss, I am apt to think, to give us an Answer to this Question, without having recourse to some new Conjectures for that purpose. Mean while, if there really subsisted amongst the *Jews* such a *clear uninterrupted Tradition* of Sacrifices being originally of Divine Appointment to their Fore-fathers, at the time of *Moses's* writing his History of those Persons, is it not very extraordinary, *Philemon*, that, in all the Accounts he gives of their Sacrifices, a Notion so *familiar* to him should never once have escaped him? that not so much as an Hint of this matter should have ever dropped from his Pen, from the mere settled Impression of the Fact itself upon his own Mind in writing? But we are told farther, that Sacrifice, *at its second Institution under Moses, was loaded with many additional Ceremonies*: and it might not be proper for *Moses* to point up to it in its simpler and primitive State, for fear of prejudicing the *Jews* against it, upon the footing it was from thenceforward to be established amongst them *. ——— Here again, *Philemon*, as before, if there subsisted so *clear and uninterrupted* a Tradition of the Origin and primitive Acceptance of

* Revelation Exam. p. 137.

of Sacrifice, as is pretended, is it not hard to conceive, that the Tradition should have stopped *there*, and not have brought down some Notices of the Manner and Circumstances of the Rite, as well as of the Rite itself? Is it not very happy for our Author, that the Tradition should be *clear and uninterrupted* just so far as it suits his purpose to have it so; and dark, and broken in all other respects? Or shall we say indeed, that he has the best Right to adjust for us the Contents of a Tradition, which seems indebted wholly to the Fruitfulness of his Imagination for its very Being? But let us admit the two Parts of our Author's Answer to the Question before us to be ever so consistent with each other, still I must observe, that the latter Part of it appears to me to be founded upon a false Thought; and that the Reason he gives for *Moses's* avoiding to suggest any Comparison to his Countrymen between the first Institution of Sacrifice, and the second, might more naturally have led him to direct contrary Measures. For the *Jews*, at this *second Institution*, as 'tis called, of Sacrifice, were but newly come out of *Egypt*, a Land, you know, of Superstition and Ceremonies; where they had contracted such a Fondness for the more operose Modes of *Egyptian* Worship, that the Simplicity of the first Ritual of Sacrifice would probably have been

been so far from giving them any Prejudice against the more encumbered State of the second, that it would rather have recommended it to them upon the Comparison, as being more in the prevailing Taste of the then present Times. Upon the whole, therefore, for any thing here advanced, we may still, I think, urge the Silence of *Moses*, as to the divine Institution of Sacrifice, as a strong general Presumption against such Institution. Nor let the concise Turn of the *Mosaic* History, and its bearing a principal Reference to some particular Points only, be admitted in bar to this Presumption: It being evident from the Prohibition to *Noah* of eating *Flesh with the Blood thereof*, so circumstantially delivered in the Book of *Genesis* *, that, notwithstanding the Circumstances but now mentioned, the Historian can sometimes particularize a Fact, not related to his principal Purpose in writing, when it is of such a nature as to deserve his Notice: And I cannot but think the Command of sacrificing, if such Command had indeed ever been given by God, was as likely to have found a place in the *Mosaic* History, as the Prohibition to *Noah* of eating Blood. But here, *Philemon*, to look back a little to our first setting out in the present Argument, it may naturally enough be inquired, if Sacrifice was originally

* *Genesis* ix. ver. 4, 5.

nally a mere human Institution, and *Abel's* Offering, spoken of in *Genesis*, a matter of *Will-Worship* only, why is his Faith, as testified by his voluntary Act of sacrificing to God, so celebrated in the eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where the Author of that Epistle is treating altogether of Instances of Faith in some express and positive Revelation? So, I am aware, he is sometimes said to be *; with what Justness will be best seen, by examining a particular Case or two, which we find there recorded. To mention, for example, the Case of *Enoch*.--- The Faith of this excellent Person, in virtue whereof he obtained the especial Privilege of a *Translation*, is by the Apostle expressly described to have been a Faith in some future *Recompence of Reward*, in consequence of his *walking with, or pleasing God*, throughout the whole Tenor of his Life †: An Expectation, which there is not a word said, either by *Moses*, or the Apostle, of his having had supernaturally communicated to him; and which we may therefore, I think, fairly presume to have been the rational Result of his own conscious Virtue. In like manner, the Faith of *Rahab*, celebrated in the same Chapter, whereby *she received the Spies of Israel with Peace*,

* See Shuck. Con. i. p. 86, 87. Rev. Exam. i. p. 133—4—5.

† Heb. xi. ver. 5, 6. Gen. v. ver. 24.

Peace *, was not a Faith or Belief in any positive Revelation she had received from Heaven for that purpose; but the Effect of her own Reasoning upon the Accounts she had heard of certain extraordinary Interpositions of divine Power on the behalf of the *Israelites*; from whence having inferr'd, that the future Success of their Affairs would prove agreeable to the past, she was led to make a timely Provision for the Security of herself, and her Family, against the Prospect she entertained of the approaching Ruin of her Country †. And why now, I would gladly know, might not the Faith of *Abel* be celebrated by our Apostle upon the same grounds with that of *Enoch*, or *Rahab*; not, you see, as a Belief in any explicate Revelation, but as a Principle of general Trust only in the Goodness and Power of God? Sure I am, the great Purpose of the sacred Writer, in the Chapter we are speaking of, is fully answered by this Explication.

THAT *Abel* might deserve (I interposed here) to be commended by the Apostle for his general Faith only, or religious Trust in God, is much easier to be admitted, than it is to conceive, whence he came to think of expressing that Faith by the particular Action of sacrificing to him. For what
could

* Heb. xi. ver. 31.

† Josh. vi. ver. 9, to 14.

could indeed induce him to imagine, that he was paying a becoming Honour to his Creator, when he was offering to him a little Wool or Cream from a Firstling of his Flock? Things which, he could not but observe, derived their whole Value, with regard to himself, from a certain relative Accommodation to his personal Use and Convenience, and could therefore have none at all, with regard to his Maker, in whom this Use and Convenience had no Place?

THIS would have been very good Reasoning, (replied He) *Philemon*; but why must you suppose *Abel* to have thought as justly upon this matter, as you do? Might he not be a very good Man, without being a good Reasoner? A Piety of Intention, you know, is not necessarily connected with a Soundness of Judgment: You must have met with many Instances, besides this, of a very honest Meaning in Religion, where there has not always been an equal Depth of Understanding. It is a very natural Prejudice in all rude and untutored Minds to fancy every thing they are concerned with thinks and feels in the same manner, which they themselves do. Whence else was it, *Philemon*, to reason with you from your own Experience, that, during the earlier Years of your Childhood, you scarce ever, I dare say, got a Blow, or a Fall, but the

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thing

which struck, or hurt you, was the immediate Object of your Displeasure, however insensible in itself of the Injury it had done you? Infomuch that many times a By-stander has been obliged to take up your Quarrel against your supposed Enemy, and pacify your Resentment, by giving you a fictitious Revenge? Whence again was it else, that, if at any time you was in a more than ordinary good Humour, or had entered into a particular Fondness for certain of the Persons intrusted with the Care of you, you was continually almost imparting to them a Share of whatever you took delight in; which you therefore presumed upon their being pleased with, because you was first so yourself? Now, what is thus the Foible of each individual Man, in his own particular State of Infancy, why may we not suppose to have been the Foible of Mankind, under the general Infancy, if I may so call it, of the human Species? Why should not a Generation of Children (Children, I mean, in Understanding) act the same absurd Part towards their great common Benefactor, which we can each of us remember formerly to have done towards our particular and private Ones, that is to say, Measure his Disposition by their own; and attribute to him an especial Interest in those things, in which they were most interested themselves?

You

You know (said I) *Hortensius*, I never had any great Idea of the intellectual State of Affairs in the first Ages of Mankind. Nevertheless, this, I must own, is so very disparaging an one, that nothing, I believe, would prevail with me to enter into it, but my not being able to account for the original Motives of their sacrificing upon any other.

THE Reluctance (replied He) you seem to express to come into this Representation of the primitive Times proceeds altogether from your happening to live in more improved ones : and you are yourself at this instant an Example, in some degree, of the very Foible charged upon the first Ages of the World, whilst you thus transfer to them the Sentiments of your own. But this is after all a very natural Prejudice ; and I can much sooner excuse it in you, *Philemon*, than in a certain Writer upon our present Subject ; who, whilst he makes great Demands upon the Powers of unassisted Reason in the Case of Sacrifice in particular, affects to entertain the most slighting Conceptions of them, as to all other religious Purposes. “ Reason, says He, if it led
 “ Men to any, would lead them to a rea-
 “ sonable Service. But the Worship of
 “ God in the way of Sacrifice cannot, I
 G 2 think,

“ think, appear to be of this sort, if we
 “ take away the Reason that may be given
 “ for it from Revelation *.” — Again, “ It
 “ can never be made out from any natural
 “ Notions of God, that Sacrifices are a
 “ reasonable Method to obtain, or return
 “ Thanks for, the Favours of Heaven. The
 “ Result of a true rational Enquiry can
 “ be this only, that *God is a Spirit, and*
 “ *they that worship him must worship him in*
 “ *Spirit and in Truth †.*” — Would you
 expect from hence to find the same Writer,
 in a place I am going to read to you, after
 a Recital of some of the principal Absur-
 dities of the Theology of the earlier Ages
 of Mankind, making this Observation? that
 “ If we look back, and make a fair Inqui-
 “ ry, we must certainly allow, that Reason
 “ in these early Times, without the affi-
 “ stance of Revelation, was not *likely* to of-
 “ fer any thing but superstitious Trifles ||”?
 And accordingly, you have him delivering
 it as his confirmed Judgment, “ That there
 “ never was any thing so weak, extrava-
 “ gant, or ridiculous, but Men eminent for
 “ their natural Strength of Understanding
 “ have been deceived to embrace and de-
 “ fend it,” as often as they pretended to
 thinking for themselves in Religion, and
 “ attempted

* Shuck. Vol. 1. p. 82.

† Shuck. p. 83.

‡ Shuck. Vol. 2. p. 305.

“ attempted to set up what they thought a
 “ reasonable Scheme of it †.” — Is not this
 a little extraordinary, *Philemon* ? For why,
 it may be asked, might not the same Per-
 sons reason ill in the matter of Sacrifices,
 who did so in every thing besides ? But
 here, quite contrary to our Author’s gene-
 ral Tenor of thinking, Reason, you find, if
 it *leads Men to any*, must *lead them to a rea-
 sonable Service.* — Nothing *weak*, nothing
extravagant, nothing *ridiculous*, nothing of
superstitious Trifling, is to be admitted into
 this one Article of the ancient Religion, al-
 tho’ there is scarce any thing, but what is so,
 to be met with in all the others. Such a
 Justness of Thought, it seems, was there
 in the World at the time when Sacrifice
 made it’s first Entrance into it, that nothing
 would then go down with Mankind, but
 what was “ the Result of a true rational
 “ Enquiry.”

You know (said I) *Hortensius*, this was
 during the Antediluvian Age. Possibly the
 intellectual World might be as great a Suf-
 ferer by the Deluge, as, we are told, I
 think, was the natural one ; and Mens
 Ideas of divine Matters might be so totally
 discomposed during the Course of that Phæ-
 nomenon, that they could never afterwards
 recover

† Shuck. Vol. 2. p. 305.

recover their first Rightness of Apprehension in them.

RATHER, *Philemon*, (returned He) let us say here, that the divine Origin of Sacrifice was, for Reasons, I think, not difficult to be conceived, a favourite Point with this learned Gentleman; and therefore every thing was to be kept out of view, which might reconcile us to it, as of human. A Concession, upon the present Occasion, in behalf of Reason, was as necessary to our Author's particular Purpose of Argument, as those discrediting Representations, he is so fond of making of it, in the course of his Connections at large, are to his general one.

THE more (interposed I) *Hortensius*, I reflect on what you have been discoursing, concerning the weak and infant State of thinking in more remote Antiquity, the more I find myself disposed to acquiesce in it. I will suppose then, that the Gratitude of the first Ages towards their Creator was of a like injudicious kind, with that of Children, within our own Observation, towards the favourite Objects of their Affections. But here, a Difficulty, I think, arises to be accounted for, which is not without its weight. For does it not put a material Difference between the two Cases here supposed, that, in the one, the Object of Gratitude is likewise

wife one of Sight and Sense; admits of an immediate Application to its Interests; and by certain visible, however feigned, Expressions of its good-liking of what is given to it, condescends usually to flatter and encourage the credulous Generosity of the Giver? Whereas, in the other case, the Benefactor concerned is a remote and invisible one; no certain Access is to be had to his Presence; no flattering Tokens are afforded of his Approbation? Would it not then greatly check the officious Zeal of the first Sacrificer, that he could neither know in what manner he might best address his intended Oblation, nor, after he had made choice of any particular Manner of doing it, have any satisfactory Assurance that he had chosen rightly?

You are still (answered He) *Philemon*, relapsing into your old Prejudice, of considering him as an exact and scrupulous Reasoner. On the contrary, the Fact probably would be, that having once formally set apart from his own Use the Matter of his Offering, and upon Examination afterwards finding it to have been consumed or disposed of in some way or other which had escaped his Observance, he would from hence fondly delude himself, that it had in fact been applied that way, which he in imagination had designed it should be. There
would

would be the greater Colour for such a Delusion, as the Being to whom he had addressed his Oblation was by Supposition an invisible one, of whose Acceptance of it therefore he would not expect to be convinced by any direct and sensible Proofs. Something of this kind seems to have been the Reasoning of the *Scythian* Sacrificers mentioned by *Herodotus*; who, when they had duely prepared and dressed their Victim, used, it seems, no other Ceremony in assigning the Gods their Portion of it, than that of the Offerer's casting it down before him in the Temple *. And in their Sacrifices to *Mars*, of every hundredth Captive they had taken in War, their Practice was, to cut off the right Arms of the unhappy Subjects of this Cruelty, and throw them up into the Air, to fall wherever Chance might direct them †. What I have been here saying, *Philemon*, you will observe,

* Επεαν δε εψηθη τα κρεα, ο θυσας των κρεων και των σπλαγχνων απαρξαμενος, ριπτει ες το εμπροσθεν. *Herod. Lib. 4. cap. 61. Ed. Gale.*

† Επι τουτου δε του ογκου ακινακης ζιδηρεος ιδρυται αρχαιος εκαστοισι· και τουτ' εστι του Αρηος το αγαλμα· και δη και τοισδ' ετι πλεω θυουσι η τοισι αλλοισι θεοισι· οσους δ' αν των πολεμιων ζωγησωσι, απο των εκατον ανδρων ανδρα ενα θυουσι, τροπω ου τω αυτω ω και τα προβατα, αλλ' ετεροιω· επεαν γαρ οινον επισπεισωσι κατα των κεφαλεων, αποσφαζουσι τους ανθρωπους ες αγλος· και επειτα, ανενεικαυτες ανω επι τον ογκον των
Φρυ-

observe, supposes that the most ancient Sacrifices were performed without Fire : as indeed, from the Accounts we have of the *Persian, Scythian*, and some of the *Greek and Roman* Sacrifices being at all times performed in this manner, seems to me extremely probable *. I am aware, in the mean while, that the common Opinion in this matter is against me ; and that the Sacrifice of *Abel* in particular, as recorded in the *Mosaic History*, is generally thought to have been of the burnt, no less than the bloody, Kind : Infomuch that some Writers have asserted, that, whereas God is represented in the Book of *Genesis* to have had *Respect unto Abel and his Offering*, the manner of signifying this Respect was, by his sending down a miraculous Fire from
Heaven

Φρυγανων, καταχεουσι το αιμα του ακινακεος· ανω μεν δη φορεουσι τουτο· κατω δε παρα το ιερον ποιενσι ταδε· των αποσφαλεντων ανδρων τους δεξιους ωμους παντας αποταμνουτες συν της χειρι, εκ του αερα ιεισι — χειρ δε τη αν ωση κειται, και χωρις ο νεκρος. Ibid. cap. 62.

* Θυσιη δε τοιςι Περσησι περι τοις ειρημενους θεους ηδε κατεστηκε· ουτε βωμους ποιουνται, ουτε πυρ ανακαιουσι μελλοντες θυειν. Herod. Melp. cap. 132. vid. & Strab. Geogr. Lib. 15. p. 732. Ed. Casaub. Herod. Melp. cap. 61. Αμελει και Βωμον προσκυνησαι μονον (Πυθαγοραν) εν Δηλω του Απολλωνος του γενετορος, δια το πυρους, και κριθας, και τα πεπανα μονα τιθεσθαι επ' αυτον ανευ πυρος. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. Lib. 8. Segm. 13. Pausan. Arcad. p. 237. 272—3. Xyl. Ed. Francof. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 328. Dionys. Halicarn. Ant. Rom. Lib. 2. p. 93.

Heaven to consume it*: whilst others have admitted, that the Fire upon this Occasion was of the Sacrificer's own kindling, but seem at the same time to have thought, that the particular Mode of sacrificing by Fire was in some sort suggested to him from above, by the Divine Being's having made use of it as the ordinary Symbol of his Presence in those infant Ages of Mankind†. You are no Stranger, *Philemon*, to part at least of this Hypothesis: I remember you gave some Intimations of an Acquaintance with it in one of our former Conferences ||.

You will remember too (said I) that I considered it there as an *Hypothesis only*, and laid no stress upon it, as indeed I would never allow myself to do upon what is thus entirely conjectural. But as to the Supreme Being's signifying an Approbation of *Abel's* Offering in any supernatural manner, that, I must own, I should very unwillingly subscribe to: inasmuch as I would not readily conceive of him as giving such signal Countenance to the *original* Practice of a Rite so
un-

* Vid. Grot. Annot. ad Gen. iv. Com. 4. Conf. Cleric. in Gen. iv. Com. 4.

† Nec absurda forsan conjectura est Patriarchas eorum dona libentius igni tradidisse, quod Deus, aut Angelus Dei, sub ignis flammantis specie se visendum præbuisset. Spenc. de Leg. Hebræorum, Vol. 2. p. 772. Ed. Chappelow.

|| See *Philemon to Hydaspes*, Part 3. p. 66.

unsuitable to him in itself, and so liable to be abused to the most unworthy Purposes in Religion. And tho' I am not altogether of Opinion with the learned Writer but now quoted by you, that the first Reasoners concerning a God must necessarily have concluded him to be *a Spirit*, yet I should be sorry, methinks, to have them furnished by himself with so good a Pretence, as is here supposed, for thinking otherwise. In short, *Hortensius*, a mere Connivance or Condescension in this matter is with me, I confess, Difficulty sufficient, without loading it with the additional Weight of an actual and explicit Encouragement.

WITHOUT entering into this Argument (resumed *Hortensius*) which is beyond our present Purpose, now we are agreed concerning the Origin of Sacrifice in the World, let us attend a little to the historical Progress of it; and see how far the Course of Fact in this Article corresponds to our general Theory. It is the more common Opinion of Writers, who have treated of the Antediluvian Age of the World, that Mankind were then wholly Strangers to the Use of Animal-Food ‡: If this Account be true, it affords us, I think, a very strong Pre-

H 2

sumption

sumption, contrary to what is as commonly supposed by most of the same Writers *, that they were no less Strangers to the Use of Animal-Sacrifices. For, as *Porphry*, I remember, somewhere very justly observes, the Idea of a Sacrifice being that of an Acknowledgment made to the Gods of the good things provided by them for the Support and Service of Life, it would be both absurd and impious for such Persons to sacrifice Animals, whose Practice it was to abstain from the eating of them †. 'Tis true, the Writers I am speaking of deny the eucharistical Nature of the Antediluvian Sacrifices, in which alone, it may be said, consists the Absurdity, and Impiety here suggested by our Philosopher. But whatever may be thought of the Sacrifice of *Abel*, that of *Noah*, we have agreed, will not easily be proved to have been of the propitiatory Kind : and yet this, we know, was offered by the Patriarch, previously to his having received the Grant supposed to have been made to him of Animal-Food ; from which, according to these Gentlemen, is originally to be derived the Liberty Man-kind

* See particularly Shuck. Connect. p. 80, 81.

† Όλας δ' ει το της θυσιας απ αρχης εχει αξιαν και ευχαριστιαν αν παρα θεου εχομεν εις τας χρειας, αλογωλατον αν ειη αυτους επεχομενους των εμψυχων, τοις θεοις τουτων απαρχεσθαι. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 77. Ed. Holsten.

kind have since taken in this Article, and by which alone it can be defended †.

So (interrupted I) is often, I have observed, asserted: and accordingly the Deist, if I mistake not, has been sometimes publickly challenged to make good his Claim to a Flesh-diet exclusively of the Authority of his Bible*, and charged in the mean time with an unwarrantable Infringement herein upon the Believer's Privilege. But surely, without calling in the Assistance of Revelation upon this Occasion, his Practice may be abundantly justified from the Nature of things. At least, *Hortensius*, if it cannot, and he is in no case at liberty to eat, but where he can be secure not to kill, I know not from whence he is to be supplied with the necessary Means of his Subsistence in Life; now that Microscopes are every where at hand, to convict him of numberless inevitable Murders in the Use even of a vegetable Diet: Infomuch that the most scrupulous Conformist to a Regimen of this sort, who, in the Tenderneſs of his regard to the Preservation of Animal-Life, should, with the Miser in the Poet, live altogether *Herbis & Urtica* ‡, would yet be in fact all this while committing as real, tho' unsus-
pected

† See Revelation Exam. &c. Vol. 2. p. 10. and p. 30.

* See Reyntlds's Three Letters to a Deist, Lett. 1.

‡ Horat. Epist. Lib. 1. Epist. 12. ver. 7, 8.

pected, Violence upon it, as the Epicure he would be the forwardest to charge with so doing.

THAT the Deist (replied *Hortensius*) has a very good Title to Animal-Food, without producing his Warrant for it from the Bible, is a Point he shall never hear me disputing with him. Had he no other Plea to offer for his Practice, the Example of it afforded him throughout the whole Animal World around him might, I think, be admitted as a very plausible one. To say the truth, *Philemon*, the striking Notoriety of the Fact I am here hinting at must ever, it should seem, have suggested to Mankind so strong a Presumption of their Liberty to eat Flesh, that I can scarce conceive the World to have continued in Being for above sixteen hundred Years together before the Flood, and Men all this while to have religiously abstained from the Use of Animal-Food, merely because they had never received an especial Grant of it from Heaven: Unless it be, that we are to credit what the Poets fable of their Golden Age, and what has indeed been sometimes thought to be countenanced by Scripture itself, that the Instinct we now find in Animals to prey upon one another was no Part of their original Constitution, but an Article rather of that universal Depravation of Manners, which over-
spread

spread no less the animal, than the rational Creation, when *all Flesh had corrupted his way upon the Earth* *. And agreeably to this Notion, the Passage of Scripture, we are generally taught to look upon as an *original Grant* to Mankind of the Liberty of a Flesh-Diet, may possibly, I have often thought, be nothing more than a *Regulation* there first introduced into a preceding Practice of this kind : not so properly a Warrant to them to eat Flesh, as a Restriction from a particular Manner of eating it, the eating it *with the Life thereof, which is the Blood* †.

You would consider then (said I) *Hortensius*, what is usually called the Grant in this Case as a kind of Preamble, if I may so speak, to the subsequent Prohibition ; or, in other words, when *Moses* in the Book of *Genesis*, now before me, represents God as saying to Mankind, in the Persons of *Noah* and his Sons, “ Every moving thing that
 “ liveth shall be Meat for you ; even as the
 “ green Herb have I given you all things :
 “ but Flesh with the Life thereof, which is
 “ the Blood thereof, shall you not eat.” The Sense, you conceive, may be——Whereas
 in

* Non ergo ab initio animantia animantibus vescabantur, sed tum demum id cœptum fieri, cum non homines tantum, sed & alia animantia viam suam corruerunt. Grot. Annot. ad Gen. i. Com. 30.

† Gen. ix. ver. 3, 4.

in the Courſe of my natural Providence I have permitted you to acquire for yourſelves the Uſe as well of Animals, as Vegetables, for your Food, I have only one Reſtraint, which I think proper to lay upon you in this matter, and that is, the requiring you from henceforth never to eat the Fleſh of any living Creature, without firſt carefully draining it of its Blood.

You have expreſſed my Meaning very fully (ſaid He) *Philemon* : The Creator here, as you have well diſtinguiſhed, not intending to convey to Man any new Right over the inferior Animals, but rather to tie up his hands, in the Exerciſe of a Right he ſtood already poſſeſſed of, from any wanton and unneceſſary Acts of Cruelty : Upon Occaſion, 'tis probable, of ſome unwarrantable Liberties of this kind, which had prevailed in the Antediluvian World.

THE Paſſage, (returned I) conſidered in this view, ſtands as a very appoſite Preface to that ſolemn Prohibition of ſhedding human Blood, which is immediately ſubjoined to it ||. For the *Pythagorean* Doctrine, however overſtrained in its Application, was certainly

|| Videtur ergo Deus, veluti per Gradus quosdam, ad homicidium vetandum procedere, quorum primus hic eſt ; nimirum licitam quidem hominibus Brutorum cædem, nec carnibus veſci vetitum, ſed prius eſſe eſ-
fundendum

tainly a very rational one in itself, that a tender and compassionate Treatment of inferior Animals is a natural Means of forming Mens Hearts to Habits of Kindness and Good-Affection towards one another : And he, who should not think himself at liberty wantonly to give pain even to the most contemptible living Creature, would not, I imagine, be very forward to lift up his hand against the Life of a Man like himself *.

IF this, (resumed *Hortensius*) as I think is no ways improbable, was the humane Design

fundendum sanguinem. Sic enim Deus homines sine immanitate brutis utendum docuit ; nam cum effundi eorum sanguis nequeat sine celeri morte, per exquisita veluti supplicia non esse occidenda offendit ; ne homines primùm brutis vefcentes, permissione a Deo accepta crudeliter fortè abuterentur, & sævitix assuefierent. Eo ergo interdicto, ad feritatem hominum inter se impediendam, viam sibi sternit Deus. Cleric. in Gen. ix. Com. 4.

*. Οἱ Πυθαγόρικοι τὴν πρὸς τὰ θηρία πραότητᾴ μελετὴν ἐπέσταντο πρὸς τὸ φιλανθρώπων, καὶ φιλοκτιρμάν· ἡ γὰρ ζυνηθεία δεινὴ τοῖς κατὰ μικρὸν εὐοικείουμένοις πάθεσι πόρρω προαγαγεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπον. Plut. de Solert. Anim. p. 959—60. Ed. Xyl. Καὶ γὰρ, εἰ μὴθεν ἄλλο, πρὸς γε τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐκχειρίαν μεγάλα πάντες οὐθηθῆναι αὐ' ὅς γουν ἡ αἰσθησις τοῦ τῶν ἄλλοφυλων ἀπλεσθαι ζῶων ἀπεκλίνειν, τούτων ὁ νοῦς προδῶλες εἶναι ὁμοφυλῶν ἀφεξορμενός. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 76. Τίς γὰρ αὐ ἀδικήσειεν ἀνθρώπον οὕτω πρὸς ἄλλοτριαν καὶ καὶ ἀσυμφυλὰ διακειμένος καὶ πρᾶως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ; Plut. de Esu Carn. p. 996.

Design of the Precept we are speaking of, one cannot but regret, that the Observance of it, in the Ages succeeding the Dispersion of the human Race from *Shinaar*, should have been confined wholly to a small Proportion only of *Noah's* Descendents; whilst the far greater Part of Mankind, sinking, as should seem, from thenceforward into a long and absolute Barbarism both of Thinking and Manners, lived, there is great reason to apprehend, for a considerable time, in the most infamous Breach of it. For in the Accounts delivered to us by Antiquity of the first civilizing of particular Countries by Persons here and there of a more improved Turn happening to visit, or settle in them at different Seasons, one Circumstance of their History constantly insisted on is that of their introducing into those Countries a general Reformation of Diet; or persuading the Natives to live first upon the wild, and afterwards upon the more cultivated Produce of the Earth; as if before they had led the Lives of wild Beasts, feeding, as they had Opportunity, on the crude Flesh of other Animals, if not even on the more helpless Part of their own Species*. The Picture here, *Philemon*, I am sensible, must be shocking, to a degree perhaps

* Πρωτον μὲν γὰρ παύσαι (τον Οσιριν) της αλληλο-
Φαλίας το'των ανθρωπων γενος, ευρουσης μὲν Ισιδος τουτε
του πυρου και της κριθης καρπου, του δε Οσιριδος επινοη-
σαμενου

perhaps of appearing even Romantic, to a Person of your improved and delicate Humanity. But the History, I must observe, of modern *Barbarians* does but too amply confirm the Probability of what is here suggested of ancient ones. And, if this was really their Case, the Age, in which they first made the happy Exchange of barbarous, for civil, Manners, could scarce fail of being celebrated by them every where in Terms of the most heightened Panegyric; which, as meanly accommodated, in every respect, as it may appear to have been with regard to later times, they might have reason to esteem a *Golden Age* to those which had gone before it. Now the Matter of Mens Diet, in these first Ages of restored Civility and social Manners, being thus confined to things without Life, their Sacrifices, we are naturally led to infer, must have been so

I 2

likewise.

σαμενου την τουτων κατεργασιαν των καρπων· ἥδεως δε μεταθεσθαι παντας την τροφην, δια τε την ἡδονην της φυσεως των ευρεθεντων, και δια το φαινεσθαι συμφερουν ὑπαρχειν απεχεσθαι της κατ' αλληλων ωμοτητος. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 13. Ed. Rhodoman. Του μεν ουν Κρονου οντα πρεσβυτατου βασιλεα γενεσθαι, και τους κατ' αυτου ανθρωπους εξ αγριου διαιτης εις βιον ἡμερου μετασῆσαι. Diod. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 334.

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum

Cædibus & victu fædo deterruit Orpheus.

Horat. de Arte Poet. v. 391—2. Lucret. Lib. 5. Ovid. Fast. Lib. 2. v. 289—302. Metamorph. Lib. 5. v. 89, & seq.

likewise. And agreeably hereunto Writers, who have traced back the History of Sacrifices to more remote Antiquity, acquaint us, that the first religious Offerings to the Gods were only “green Herbs, the Down, as it were, of fruitful Nature, which Men plucked up by the Roots with their Hands, and burned in Sacrifice to the celestial Deities.” After this they proceeded to offer Acorns, and Oak-Leaves; then Nuts; then whole Barley; and, upon the Invention of the Grinding-Mill; Meal; then again a kind of Meal-Cake; and lastly, as they became in time acquainted with the Uses, and Preparations of them, all sorts of Fruits, and Grain, accompanied with choice Perfumes, such as they esteemed worthy to entertain the Senses of Divine Beings †. In like manner, the ancient Libation, or Drink-
Offering,

† Αναριθμος μὲν τις εἰσικεν εἶναι γένος, ἀφ’ οὗ τοῖς πάντων λογιωτάτου γένος, ὡς φησὶ Θεόφραστος, ἡρξάτο πρῶτον ἐφ’ ἑστίας τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς θυεῖν, οὐ σμυρνης, οὐδὲ κασίας, καὶ λιθανώτου κροκῶ μιχθέντων ἀπαρχάς— ἀλλὰ χλόης, οἷον εἰ τινα τῆς γούμμου φύσεως χυρὸν, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀραιμένοι—ἥς (πῶας) ὀρεπομένοι φυλλὰ καὶ ξίζας, καὶ τοὺς ὅλους τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν βλαστούς, κατεχάσιο, ταύτῃ τοὺς φαινόμενους οὐρανίους θεοὺς τῇ θυσίᾳ δεξιούμενοι. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 53. Δρύος καρποθάρσσαντες, τῆς μὲν τροφῆς διὰ τὴν σπανὴν μικρά, τῶν δὲ φυλλῶν αὐτοῖς πλείω τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς τὰς θυσίας ἀνγκίστον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θυμᾶτα ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν, ὡς θεός ἐφη· τοῦ δὲ Δημήτρεϊοι καρπὸν μετὰ τοῦ χει-
ὄροπα

Offering, was, as the same Writers inform us, of Water ; then it came to be of Honey ; next of Oil ; and last of all of Wine *. Milk likewise was sometimes used as a Drink-Offering : Thus, not to repeat what has been already suggested in the Case of *Abel's* Sacrifice, the *Persians*, when they sacrificed to the Element of Water, are by *Strabo* related to have poured forth upon the Ground a certain Mixture of Oil, Milk and Honey †. And a very great Master of Antiquity gives it us as his Opinion, that the Ceremony performed daily to *Osiris*, and *Isis*, in one of the Islands of the *Nile*, of filling several Vessels with Milk at one of the pretended Places of their Interment, as mentioned

δρόπα πρώτου Φανεντος κριθων, ταυταις απ' αρχης ουλο-
χυτειτο κατα τας πρώτας θυσιας το των ανθρωπων γε-
νος.—του δ' αλληλεσμενου βιου παρὰ το προσθεν μακαρισ-
θεντος, απηρξαντο τε της ψαισθεισης τροφης πρώτου εις
πυρ τοις θεοις.—αφ' ὧν ὀρμωμενοις μεν—προσε-
τιθεντο πελανων ἤδη και των λοιπων ἀπαντων απαρχει
τοις θεοις εις τας θυσιας· πολλα μεν ανθολογουντων,
ουκ ελατῶν δε τουτων μιγνυντων τοτε ει τι καλον ειχον ευ-
βιω, και ωρεπον οσμη προς θειν αισθησιν. Porph. de
Abst. Lib. 2. p. 53—4—5.

* Τα μεν αρχαια των ἱερων νηφαλια παρὰ πολλοις
ην· νηφαλια δ' εστιν τα ὑδροσπονδα· τα δε μετα ταυτα
μελισπονδα· τουτου και ετοιμου παρὰ μελιτῶν πρώτου
ελαθόμεν του ὕδρου καρπον· ειτ' ελαισπονδα· τέλος δ' επι-
πασιν τα ὑπερὰ γεφουῖα σινισπονδα. Ibid. p. 66.

† Αποσπενδοντες ελαίου ὁμου γαλακτι και μελιτι
κεκράμενον, ουκ ες πυρ, ουχ' ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' ες τουδαφος.
Strab. Geog. Lib. 15. p. 733.

tioned in our last Conversation, was a daily Libation of Milk to the Manes of these two deified *Egyptians* ||. And as we find the Sacrifice of inanimate things only thus spoken of by the *Pagan* Writers, as of a superior Antiquity to that of Animals, so it seems in all Ages to have been considered by them, as of a somewhat superior Sanctity.

THIS (said I) it might very naturally be, *Hortensius*, supposing it, as in your Account, to have been every where introduced and established by the Heroes of the Golden Age: For these Heroes having been all deified upon their Decease, it was to the succeeding Ages of the Pagan World in a literal Sense the Institution of the Gods themselves. And indeed, besides that it had thus the immediate Sanction of their divine Authority, it had, methinks, upon *Pagan* Principles a more particular Accommodation to their Natures. For they are several of them delivered down to us, you know, in the Pagan Records of Antiquity, as the Persons who first taught Men, whilst they were as yet living upon Earth, the Arts of Plantation and Agriculture; and agreeably to this Notion of them, they were conceived of after Death, as Demons, a great
Part

|| Cler. in Gen. Cap. iv. Com. 4. Diod. Sic. Lib. 1.
p. 19.

Part of whose Employment it was providentially to superintend the prosperous Event of these Arts. Thus *Hesiod* represents them to us, according to the current Theology of his Times, as

Ἡερά εἰσάμενοι, πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν
Πλουτοδοτοί. ——— ‡

“ cloathed with an aërial Vehicle, ranging at pleasure throughout the Earth, the Promoters of its Fruitfulness.” To Gods of this Character a Sacrifice of the Fruits of the Earth might well be esteemed of all others the most acceptable one, as it not only pointed back to one of the chief original Reasons of their Deification, but was moreover peculiarly adapted to their supposed Office and Employment under it.

WHETHER (resumed *Hortensius*) it was an Effect of this Principle, or of mere Accident, I will not venture to say; but the Practice of offering unbloody Sacrifices only was at some Altars religiously observed, even to the latest times of Paganism. Of this kind were those appointed by *Cecrops* in the City of *Athens* to *Jupiter*, to whom he is said to have first erected an Altar under the Character

‡ Hes. Op. & Di. v. 125, 126. Ed. Cleric. Vid. & Heinsii Not. in Loc.

Character of the *Supreme God* *. So again, at the Altar of *Ceres* near *Phigalia* in *Arcadia*, consecrated to her by the Epithet of *Ceres the Mourner*, in memory of the Affliction she was in for the Rape of *Proserpine*, the only Sacrifices allowed to be offered were certain cultivated Fruits, in particular Grapes, together with Honey-combs, Wool, such as it was taken from the Body of the Sheep which bore it, and Oil †. The same Writer, who mentions this Altar of *Ceres*, tells us also of a little one near the Tomb of *Neoptolemus* at *Delphi*, where an Oblation was every day made of Oil, and upon extraordinary Solemnities, of uncombed Wool. The Tradition, it seems, concerning this Altar was, that it was the Stone which *Saturn* had swallowed in the place of his Son *Jupiter*,

* Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Κεκροψ) Διὰ τε οὐνομασεν ὕπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἤξιωσεν οὐδὲν θύσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχωρία ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήλυσεν, ἃ πέλαιους καλοῦσι ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι. Pausan. Arcad. p. 237. Ed. Casaub.

† Ταύτης δὲ μάλιστα ἐγὼ τῆς Δημητρός ἕνεκα ἐς Φιγαλίαν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐθύσα τῇ θεῷ, καθ' ἃ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐδὲν· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰ τε ἀλλὰ, καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπῶν, καὶ μέλισσων τε κηρία, καὶ ἐρίων τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἤκούσα, ἀλλ' ἐτι ἀναπλέα τοῦ οἰσυποῦ, ἃ τίθεασι ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὠκεδομημένον πρὸ τοῦ σπηλαιοῦ. Θεύεις δὲ καταχεοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαίου· ταῦτα ἰδιώταις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ ἀνα πάντων ἔτος τῷ κοῖνῳ καθέστηκεν ἐς τὴν θύσιν. Pausan. Arcad. p. 272—3.

piter, and had afterwards brought up again †. Both *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Porphry* acquaint us, that in the Island of *Delos* was an Altar of *Apello*, furnamed *Genitor*, or Father, at which it was held absolutely unlawful to shed Blood; a Circumstance, which, *Laertius* observes, particularly recommended this Altar to the Philosopher *Pythagoras*, and which, according to *Porphry*, occasioned it to be emphatically stiled the *Altar of the Pious* ‡. What has been remarked here of some of the *Grecian* Sacrifices, a celebrated *Roman* Historian informs us was sometimes the Case, even in his time, of the *Roman* ones. He had himself, he says, been a Spectator of some Offerings made to the Gods altogether in the old Taste; which consisted wholly of certain Preparations of Barley, and Wheat, of Fruits, and such like simple Ingredients, without any of that ridiculous Extravagance introduced in later times into their Worship, and which were placed

† Επαναβάντι δὲ ἀπο τοῦ μνηματός λιθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τοῦτου καὶ ἐλαίου ὁσημέραι καταχεοῦσι, καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἐρία ἐπιτίθεασιν αὐτῷ ἀργα· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ δοῖα ἐς αὐτόν, δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λιθὸν αὐτὶ τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ ὡς ἡμετέρον αὐτοῦ ὁ Κρόνος. Pausan. Phoc. p. 341.

‡ Αμελεῖ καὶ βωμὸν Πρωκλήνεται μόνον Πυθαγόραν) ἐν Δήλῳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνος τοῦ γειετορος κ τ λ. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. Lib. 8. Segm. 13. Θεωρεῖσθαι δὲ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δήλον ἐπὶ ν. ν. σωζομένου βωμοῦ, πρὸς οὐ οὐθενος προσαγομένου παρὶ αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ θυομένου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ζώου, εἰσεύων κεκλήται βωμός. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 73.

placed on Tables of Wood, in Plates of Potter's Earth; the Libation too being mixed up, not in Vessels of Silver, or Gold, but in Cups of the same humble Composition: and wherever he had met with Practices of this kind, he could not but greatly applaud the Observers of them, for adhering so strictly to the Usages of their Forefathers, and not exchanging the frugal Simplicity of the ancient Oblations, for the ostentatious Costliness of modern ones *. It was upon this Principle, no doubt, that the *Pythia* at *Delphi* affected upon several Occasions to prefer the more cheap and ordinary kinds of Sacrifice to those of the greatest Expence and Magnificence. Thus, we are told, after a Defeat of the *Carthaginians* by an adverse Power, when the Heads of the conquering Party were presenting their respective Hecatombs to *Apollo*, and striving each to excel the other in the Choice and Value of his Oblation, upon inquiring of him with which

* Εγω γουν εθεασαμην εν ιεραϊς οικιαϊς δειπνα προσκειμενα θεοις, εν τραπεζαϊς ξυλιναις αρχαικαις, εν κανοις και πινακισκοις κεραμιοις, αλφιτων μαζας και ποπανα, και ζεας, και καρπων τινων απαρχας, και αλλα τοιαυτα λιτα, και ευδαπανα, και πασης απειροκαλιας απηλλαμμενα. και σπονδας ειδου ελκεκραμμενας ουκ εν αργυροις και χρυσοις αγεσιν, αλλ' εν οσρακιναις κυλισκαις και προχοις· και ηγασθην των ανδρων οτι διαμνουσιν εν τοις πατριοις εθεσιν, ουδεν εξαλλαττοντες των αρχαιων ιερων εις την αλαζονα πολυτελειαν. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. 2, p. 93. Ed. Sylburg.

which of their Offerings he was best pleased, the Answer he returned was, that the two or three handfuls of Meal, which one *Docimus*, an Inhabitant of *Delphi*, and the Owner of a little barren and rocky Piece of Ground there, had that day strewed upon his Altar, were of more worth to him than them all †. In like manner, when a certain rich *Magnesian*, who used every Year to perform a very costly Sacrifice at *Delphi*, came thither one Year for this purpose, and, in expectation of some high Compliment to himself upon the Occasion, desired of the *Pythia* to be informed, who was the most zealous and favourite Worshipper of the Gods; Her Reply to this Question was, That it was *Clearchus* of *Methydrium*, a little Village in *Arcadia*; the Sum of whose religious Merits, when the *Magnesian* had inquired of him what his particular Manner of Worship was, appeared to be, that he was a very punctual Observer of all stated Festivals; that once every Month he adorned

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† Παρι ἐνίοις δ' ἰσορροπία των συγγραφεων, των τε-
ρατων, μετα το κρατησαι Καρχηδονιων, ἐκατομβας κατα
πολλην εριν την προς αλληλους εκπρεπεις παρσησαντων
τω Απολλωνι, ειτα πυνθανομενων αἰς ἡσθεην μαλιστα, παρ'
ελπιδα πασαν αυτων αποκρινασθαι, διоти τοις Δοκιμου
ψαισις· Δελφος δε ην οντος, Κληρη γεωργων πετριδια·
κατιων δε απο του χωριου εκεινης της ἡμερας εκ της πε-
ρικειμενης πηρας των αλφειτων ολιγας δρακας εθλησας,
πλεον τερας του Θεου των μεγαλοπρεπεις θυσιας ζυγες
λεταντων. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 63.

Mercury, Hecate, and the Shrines of the other Gods of his Ancestors with Garlands, and presented before them Frankincense, Meal, and Cakes; that on all their Feast-Days he made an Oblation to them, not of any living Creature, but of the Fruits of his Ground, whatever kinds were then at hand; and lastly, that of the whole yearly Produce thereof he religiously consecrated to them the first Gatherings in their proper Season.*

THERE

* Οὕτω δὲ διακειμενον πρὸς τὸ δαιμονίου ἐλθεῖν εἰς Δελφούς, πομπευσάντα δὲ ἐκάλωμθην τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τιμησάντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὸν Ἀπολλῶνα, παρέλθειν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον χρηστηριαζόμενον· οἰόμενον δὲ καλλίστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐρεσθαι τὴν Πυθίαν τὸν ἀρίστα καὶ προθυμολάτα τὸ δαιμονίου γεραίροντα θεσπίζεται, καὶ τὸν ποιοῦντα τὰς θυσίας προσφιλεσάτας, ὑπολαμβάνοντα δοθῆσεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πρωτεῖον· τὴν δὲ ἱερεὶν ἀποκρινασθαι πάντων ἀρίστα θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς Κλεάρχον κατοκοῦντα ἐν Μειθυρίῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας· τὸν δ' ἐκπλαγέντα ἐκτοπῶς ἐπιθυμείσθαι τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν· — ὅμως δ' οὐκ οὐκτυχεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀξιώσασθαι φράσαι αὐτῷ οὕτινα τροπὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾷ; τὸν δὲ Κλεάρχον φαναι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ σπουδαίως θύειν ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι χρόνοις, κατὰ μῆνα ἑκάστου ταῖς νεομηνίαις ἱεφάνουντα καὶ φαίδρυνοντα τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἃ δὴ τοὺς προγονοὺς καταλίπειν, καὶ τιμὰν λιθάνωτοις, καὶ ψαίιστοις, καὶ πομπαῖς· κατ' ἐνῆαυτον δὲ θυσίας ὀκταεταλεῖς ποιεῖσθαι, περὶ ἀλειπούσας οὐδεμίαν ἑορτήν· ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῦταις θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ Βουθυτούττα, οὐδὲ ἱερεῖα κατοκοῖντα, ἀλλ' ὅ, τι αὐτὸν παρὰ τυχὴν ἐπιθύοντα, σπουδαζέειν μέλει ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν περιγίγνομενων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ὠραίων ἃ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνεται τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀπονεμῆν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 62, 63.

THERE was something (said I) very particular sure in the Circumstances of the Cases you have now mentioned, that could make the Oracle all on a sudden so wonderfully disinterested. For it was not by any means, I apprehend, the common Style of Divinity at the *Delphic* Shrine, that the more frugal the Gift, the more acceptable the Giver. There was some latent Policy, I make no question, in all Answers of this kind, if we were let into the true Secret of them; they were calculated for some present Turn of the Priests who dictated them.

As to the particular right-timing (returned He) of a Doctrine of this nature, for that we may safely trust the long-approved Wisdom of *Apollo's* Priesthood. In the mean while, the general End they might propose to serve, by giving it out now and then, as a fit Opportunity offered, to the Public, might be occasionally to refresh upon Mens Minds that universal implicit Reverence for Antiquity, upon which they well knew, not only the Success of their separate Craft, but of the whole *Pagan* Superstition at large, was altogether suspended. For the Grounds thereof being laid in the rude Simplicity of the less enlightened Ages of the World, it would not endure the Test of a free and rational Scrutiny, but was to
be

be upheld merely by a blind and bigotted Attachment to Authority and Prescription. The Oracle therefore might manifestly find its Account in here and there declaring itself to the Effect but now represented, if by so doing it helped to support and encourage the Principle here supposed, and under an Appearance of Disregard to an immediate and particular Interest, was serving all the while a much more important and general one. These Oracular Decisions, *Philemon*, to mention it here in passing, in behalf of inanimate Sacrifices as preferable to bloody ones, added to the Tradition upon which they were founded, of their being indeed the primitive Usage of Mankind, gave great Advantage to the *Pythagorean Platonists* in defending their Doctrine of Abstinence from Animal-Food, (grounded chiefly upon their Belief in the Metempsychosis) against an Objection frequently made to it by their Adversaries in this Point, from the Practice of bloody Sacrifice as an established Article of *Pagan Worship* *. 'Tis true indeed, they sometimes upon this Occasion affect to dispute the Consequence from sacrificing living Creatures, to feeding on them:

* Και μὴν καὶ οἱ θεοὶ Συνταξέας τε πολλοῖς θερα-
πείας ἕνεκα δέδωκασιν τῆς ἐκ θηρίων καὶ πλῆρης γὰρ ἡ
ἰσχυρία ὥς αὐτοὶ προσεταξάν τισι καὶ φθεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ
προσφέρεισθαι τῶν τυθιγμένων. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 1.
p. 19.

them *: But this way of Reasoning could no ways effectually serve their purpose, as it was only applicable to certain mystic, or expiatory, or to human Sacrifices, and could not be extended to those of the more common and honorary kind; the matter of which, by the very nature of the Rite, and their own confessed Judgment concerning it, was to consist of such things as were in use with the Offerers for Food †. Their only pertinent Answer in this case was, as has been said, that it appeared from universal Tradition, and the occasional Declarations of the Gods themselves by their Oracles, that the primitive, and most acceptable Oblations to them were of things without Life only; but that the wanton Appetites of Men in After-Ages, lusting after Animal-Food, and seeking some plausible Pretence to introduce it, they had contrived to make the Gods appear to be the Patrons of this inhuman Piece of Luxury, and to sanctify, as it were, their designed Innovation upon

* Πλην ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλεγόμεν μὴ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ὥς, εἰ θύσειεν ζῶα, καὶ βρωτέων πάντως. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 87.

† Καὶ θυόμεν γε, ἐφην, ὧ μακάριε ἰχθύας ἐν τισὶ τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις· ὥς ἵππον Ῥωμαῖοι· ὥς πολλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ θήρια καὶ ζῶα, κυνὰς ἰσως Ἕλληνας Ἐκάτη καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ πολλὰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν καὶ δημοσίων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐτοῦς, ἢ δις, τοιαῦτα θυμὰτα· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητικαῖς, ἐφ' ὧν μόνον κοινωνεῖν ἀξίου καὶ τραπέζων θεοῖς. Julian. p. 331. Paris 1630. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 77.

upon the Diet of their Forefathers by the Presence of an Improvement upon their Sacrifices†. And the Fact here, *Philemon*, is, I believe, very rightly stated for us, that the Practice of offering Animals in sacrifice to the Gods commenced with their being served up for Food at the Tables of their Worshipers: And both of these Practices were a Departure from the Usages of more early times, established by the first Civilizers of the Pagan World in different Countries, that is, in Pagan Language, established by the Gods themselves. But then the Reason of their being so was not, as our Philosophers would have it thought, that they held the killing Animals for Food a thing in its own nature criminal, but only, as I apprehend, that in order to the more effectual Security of civil and social Manners amongst Mankind, they had every where abolished the savage Custom of feeding on the crude Flesh of Animals, and Men in this infant State of Society had not as yet arrived at the Art of preparing them for use by Fire.

THE *Greeks* (said I) who have, you know, their Inventors for every thing, ascribe,

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† Των δὲ τοῖς βίοις ἡμῶν χρεῖαν τινὰ παρὰσχόμενων, ἢ καὶ τι εἰς ἀπολαύσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων οὐθενὸς ἀπεχομένη, ὧς ἀληθῶς, καὶ δέροντες ἐπὶ πρῶτα-
σιας τοῦ Θεοῦ· — καὶ θυομεν αὐτῶν τῶν θυσιῶν οὐ
τὰ τῆς Θεοῖς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων

ἐπὶ

I think, this Art to their *Prometheus* ||. If he was the Inventor of a Practice, in the Establishment whereof amongst Mankind the Gods in general had so evident an Interest, methinks it is somewhat hard upon him, that his Character on all Occasions should be drawn to us as a Person remarkably odious to them. For tho' he is said to have acted a little penuriously by *Jupiter* in the Affair of the old Sacrifice at *Sicyon* †; yet in the main surely he was no bad Friend to the Altar of this God, if the Steam of all those numberless Victims, which in later times ascended to him from thence, was a Consequence of that Fire which *Prometheus* had first taught to be kindled upon it. Had *Jupiter* exerted a little of his divine Prescience in the Case before us, and, instead of dwelling wholly on a present Disappointment, extended his Views to the Advantage he was sure to reap in Futurity, from the

L

Art

ἐπιθυμίαις κεχαρισμένα, καταμαρτυρούντες ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ὅτι τῆς ἀπολαύσεως χάριν ἐμμενομεν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς θυμασιν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 70. Ὅθεν, ὡς οὐκ αἰτίμα ποιοῦμενοι τὰ θεοῖς θυμάτα, γευσασθαι τούτων πρῶτη ἦσαν — καθάπερ οὖν το παλαιον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τε τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἀσπασῶς μετὰ τὴν ὅσιν ἐγεύσαντο, οὕτω τῶν ζῶων καταρξαμένοι ταυτοῦτον ἡγοῦντο δεῖν τοῦτο δεῖν. Ibid. p. 71.

|| Pifth. Μοῖνον θεῶν γὰρ διὰ σ' ἀπανθρακίζαμεν. Aristoph. Av. p. 611. Bifet. vid. Schol. & Not. Ed. in Loc.

† Hes. Theog. v. 535, & seq.

Art which *Prometheus* was now first teaching his Contemporaries, he would probably have behaved under it with more Temper than he is represented to have done, and not have set himself “to confound,” as *Lucian* has it, “Earth with Heaven, and think of nothing but Chains, and Crucifixion, and *Caucasus*, and Eagles,” to revenge himself upon the unhappy Author of it *. To me, I confess, as the matter is generally said to have stood with *Prometheus*, he seems to have had a much juster Cause of Quarrel against *Jupiter*, than *Jupiter* against him. And therefore I do not at all wonder to find him glorying so much in *Aristophanes*, in the Comedy of *the Birds*, in his settled Principle

* Και πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσονται περὶ τῶν κρεῶν* καὶ τοὶ, ἢ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ νῦν λέγων ταῦτα αἰσχυνομαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διός, εἰ οὕτω μικρολογὸς καὶ μεμψιμοῖρος ἐστίν, ὥς διότι μικρὸν ὄσουν ἐν τῇ μερίδι εὖρεν ἀνασκολοπισθησόμενον περῖπειν παλαιὸν οὕτω θεῶν — ὥς ἐγὼ οὐδὲ μνημονεύειν εἰς τὴν ὑπερβαίνουσαν ἐτι ὠμὴν τοῦ Διᾶ, οὐκ ὅπως καὶ τῆλικαυτὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγανακτῆσαι, καὶ πανθεῖνα ἡγήσασθαι πεπονημένοι, εἰ διὰ νερμῶν τις κρεῖα παιδίου τινα ἐπαιζέει πειρωμένος εἰ διαγνωσέται το βέλτιον ὃ αἰρούμενος* τίθει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆ το χαλεπώτατον, μὴ τὴν ἐλαττοῦ μοῖραν ἀπονεμεῖν μὲν τῷ Διί, τὴν δ’ ὅλην ὑφηρεῖσθαι· τί οὖν διὰ τοῦτο ἐχρην, τοῦ τοῦ λόγου, τῇ γῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναμειχθῆναι, καὶ δεσμεῖν, καὶ σταυροῦν, καὶ Κανκασσον ὅλον ἐπινοεῖν, καὶ αἰετοὺς καταπερῖπειν, καὶ τὸ ἥπαρ ἐκκοπτεῖν; ὅρα γὰρ μὴ πολλὰ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀγανακτοῦντος αὐτοῦ μικροψυχίου, καὶ ἀγενεῖαν τῆς γνώμης, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐχερείαν. *Lucian. Prometh. p. 192—3. Ed. Amstelod. 1743. 4to. I Vol.*

Principle of Enmity to all the Gods, and professing himself a *very Timon* in every thing which concerned their Interests †. And indeed his whole Business in this Comedy is very agreeable to such a Profession ; for, upon *Pistheterus's* having finished his whimsical City in the Air, designed for a Kingdom of Birds, which intercepted the usual Communications between Heaven and Earth, *Prometheus* introduces himself to him, and acquaints him, to what an extreme Distress he had reduced the Gods by the Execution of his late Project, through a Failure of their accustomed Sacrifices from Mankind ; suggesting to him at the same time, that if he and his Fellow Birds would but resolve never to sacrifice to them on their part, they might in a short time starve *Jupiter* by this means out of his supreme Government of the World ||, and get the

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universal

† Prom. Μισω δ' απαντας τους θεους, ως αισθα ζυ.

Pisthet. Νη του Δι' αιει δητα θεομισης εφους.

Prom. Τιμων καθαρος.— Aristoph. Av. p. 611. Bifet.

|| Prom. Ακουε δε νυν. Pist. ως ακουουλος λεγε.

Prom. Απολωλεν ο Ζευς. Pist. πηνικ' ατ' απωλετο ;

Prom. Εξ ουπερ υμεις ωκισατε τον αερα·

Θει γαρ ουδεις ουδεν ανθρωπων επι

Θεοισιν, ουδε κνισσα μηριων απο

Ανηλθεν ως ημας απ' εκεινου του χειρου·

Αλλ' οσπερι Θεσμοφοροισι, νηπτενομεν

Αιεν θυηλων· οι δε Βαρβαροι θεοι

Πεινωυτες, ωσπερ Ιλλυριοι κεκρυγότες

universal Empire of things restored again to the Nation of the Birds ‡, who, in the Doctrine of this Play, were the original, and only rightful Proprietors of it *.

THE

Επιστρατεύσειν Φασ' ανωθεν τω Δι
Ει μη παρῆξει τ' εμπορι' ανευγμενα
Ἰν' εισαγοιντο σπλαγχνα κατατετμημενα.

Arist. Av. p. 610, 11.

‡ Ὑμεις δὲ μὴ σπενδῆσθ' εἰ μὴ παραδιδῶ
Τὸ σκηπῆρον ὃ Ζεὺς τοῖσιν Ὀρνίσιν παλιν.

Ibid.

* Pift. Οὕτως ὕμῶν ὑπεραλγῶ

Οἵτινες οὐτὲς πρότερον βασιλῆς. Chor. ἡμεῖς
βασιλῆς; τίνος; Pift. ὕμεις

Πάντων ὅπως ἐστίν· ἐμοῦ πρώτου τοῦδ'· καὶ τοῦ
Διὸς αὐτοῦ

Ἀρχαιότεροι, πρότεροι τε Κρόνου, καὶ Τιτανῶν
ἐγενεσθαι

Καὶ γῆς. Chor. καὶ γῆς; Pift. νῆ τοῦ Ἀπολλῶ.

Chor. Τοῦτ' ἐμὰ Δι' οὐκ ἐπεπύσμεν.

Pift. Ἀμαθὲς γὰρ ἔφυς, κ' οὐ πολὺ πρᾶγμα, οὐδ' Αἰσῶπου
Πεπατήκας·

Ὅς ἐφάσκε λεγῶν Κορυδοῦ πάντων πρώτῃν ὀρνίθ'·
Γενεσθαι

Πρότερον τῆς γῆς.

Epops. Οὐκοῦν δὴτ' εἰ πρότεροι μὲν γῆς πρότεροι δὲ Θεῶν
ἐγενοντο

Ὡς πρεσβυτάτων αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐστ' ἡ βασι-
λειᾶ.

Arist. Av. p. 563—4.

Chorus. Χάος ἦν καὶ νύξ ἐρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ
ταρταρὸς εὐρύς.

Γῆ δ', οὐδ' ἀήρ, οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν· ἐρεβὸς δ' ἐν ἀπει-
ροσὶ κολοίσι

Τίττει πρῶτιστον ὑπὸ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡ μελανοπτερός
ἦν

Εξ

THE Accounts (said *Hortensius*) which Antiquity has given us of *Prometheus* are so full of fabulous and romantic Extravagance, that one knows not well what to make of him. In a Tragedy of *Æschylus* upon his Subject, he is complimented with Inventions of so many different kinds as could scarce, one would think, fall within the Compass of any single Genius; and looks more like a poetic Prosopopæa of the Progress of human Art in general, than the Character of any particular Artist. If this was the Light in which he was considered by the Ancients, they might naturally enough represent him to us as a Person hated by the Gods †, whose Deification, you know, was the Creature altogether of the absolute Barbarism.

Εξ οὗ περιτελλομεναις ὥραις ἐβλαψεν Ἑρως ὁ
ποθεινός,

Στίλβων νωτον πλερυγοῖν χρυσάιν. εἰκὼς αἰετῶ-
κεσι διναις.

Οὗτος δὲ χεῖρ πλεροεντι μίγεις νυχίῳ κατὰ
ταρταρον εὐρύ

Εὐνεότλευσεν γένος ἡμετέρου, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνηγάγει
εἰς Φῶς.

Πρεστέρου δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν Ἑρῶς
ζυνεμιξεν ἀπαντᾷ.

————— ὧδε μὲν ἐσμεν

Πολυ Πρεσβυτάλοι πάντων μακάρων.

Arist. Av. p. 573-4.

† Τον Λίος ἐχθρόν, του πασι θεοῖς

Δ' ἀπεχθεις· ἐλθούτ' ὅποιοι

barism of the times they lived in, an Honour they would never have arrived at, but thro' the intire Ignorance of their Contemporaries in all the common Arts of social Life. And indeed that the Course of Improvement herein was for some time afterwards no very expeditious one, we may collect from the Account which our Poet makes *Prometheus* give of this matter to the Chorus of this his Tragedy: the Amount whereof is, that when *Jupiter* had defeated the *Titans*, and was quietly settled in his Throne, he employ'd his Thoughts so wholly on appointing to the other Gods their several Honours and Offices under him, as intirely to neglect the Care of Mankind; inso-much that the Species must soon have come to an End, for want of the common Comforts and Conveniencies of Life, if himself had not on this Occasion taken pity upon them, and opened to them a more hopeful Prospect of Affairs. He found them, he says, rather so many Figures in human Shape, than properly speaking Men; living under Ground like Ants, in Holes and Caves of the Earth; unacquainted with Building; without any Knowledge of the Seasons, by which to regulate their Agriculture; without the Use of Numbers, Writing, or any public Records

Την Διος αὐλὴν εἰσιχνεύσει

Διὰ τὴν λιανὴν φιλοσητὰ βροτῶν.

Æschyl. Prom. Vinc. v. 121, 124.

cords of time and things ; without any No-
tion of serving themselves of the Strength
or Speed of other Animals for the purposes
of Draught or Burden ; wholly ignorant of
the Cure either of inward Distempers, or
external Wounds ; of Divination in any of
its Forms ; of the Kinds and working of
Metals. In one word, he affirms, that all
Arts whatsoever, which Mankind were then
possessed of, for the better Accommodation
or Embellishment of Life, were originally
derived to them from *Prometheus* *. Now
the historical Ground-work of this Repre-
sentation I conceive to have been that, in
the

* Ὅπως ταχίστα τὸν πατρῶν ἐς θρόνον
καθεζέτ', εὐθὺς δαίμοσιν νημεὶ γέρα
ἄλλοισι ἀλλὰ, καὶ διέστοιχιζέτο
Ἀρχὴν· βρωτῶν δὲ τῶν ταλαιπῶρων λόγον
οὐκ ἐσχέυ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αἰσώσας γένος
Τοπᾶν, ἐχρήσεν ἄλλο φῖτυσαι νεόν·
καὶ τοῖσιν οὐδεὶς ἀνέβαινε πλὴν ἐμού·
ἐγὼ δὲ τόλμης ἐξελευσάμην βροτῶν
τοῦ μὴ διαρραίσθεντας εἰς ἄδου μολεῖν.

V. 329, 335.

Ἀκουσάθ' ὥς ῥ' ἄσ νηπίους οὐλᾶς τὸ πρῖν
Εὐνούς ἐθηκά, καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους·
οἱ πρῶτ' ἄ μιν, βλέπουσιν ἐβλεπον μάτην,
κλυοῦσιν οὐκ ἤκουον, ἀλλ' οὐνερά τ' ἴδον
Ἀλῖσκιαι μορφάισι, τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον
Ἐφύρον εἰκὴ πάντ' ἄ, καὶ οὐτε πλινθυφείς
Δομοὺς πρὸς ἡλούς ἴσαν, οὐ ξυλοῦρσίαν·
κατωρυχὲς δ' ἐνναίου, ὥς τ' αἰεσυροὶ
Μυρμηκες, ἀνθρώπων ἐν μυχαῖς ἀνθρώποις·
Ὦν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὐτε χεῖμαλ' οὐτε τεχίμαρ

the Ages immediately succeeding the Restoration of Civility in *Greece*, the Minds of Men were so wholly taken up with contriving suitable Expressions of their Gratitude to the Restorers of it (who yet had hitherto taught them only the bare Rudiments of more accommodated Life) that instead of profiting, as they might have done, by their Instructions, they contented themselves with idolizing their Memories; and were employed for some time more in rejoicing that they had by *their means* gained the first Step from Brutality and Barbarism, than in endeavouring to gain any farther ones of *themselves*: till at length some more enterprizing Geniusses arose in the World, who, conceiving a Passion for Reputation, and struck with an Ambition to distinguish themselves to future Ages from the common Herd of their Contemporaries, (called in mythologic Language “*Prometheus’s* having given them Fire from Heaven, as the great Instrument of various Arts, and by means of infusing into their Minds, τυφλας ἐλπίδας, blind Hopes, contrived to remove
from

‘Οὐτ’ ἀνθεμῶδους ἦρος, οὐτε καρπιμῶν
Θεῶν βεβᾶιον, ἀλλ’ ἀτερ γυνῆς τὸ πᾶν
Ἐπρασσον, εἴτε δὴ σφιν αὐτολας ἐγώ
Ἀστρων εἰδείξα, τὰς τε δυσκρίτους δυσείας.

V. 441—457. vid. et v. 458 ad 467. 475 ad 505.

Βραχὺ δὲ μύθῳ πάντᾳ Ὑλλήθεδν μαθεῖ,
Πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθεὺς.

from before their Eyes the immediate Prospect of Death *) set themselves to the still farther Improvement of the several infant Arts ; refined upon the rude Inventions of their Forefathers ; and by degrees added the Conveniencies and Ornaments to the mere Necessaries of Life.

AND if *Prometheus*, (said I) *Hortensius*, did thus in a Course of time intirely new mould, as it were, the human Species from what it was when it came, as we may say, immediately out of the hands of the Gods, it was a very pardonable Liberty which the Mythologists took in this matter, when they said of him, that he made Men †.

I AGREE

* Chor. Μη που τι προυβης τωνδε και περαιτερω ;

Prom. Θνητους τ' επαυσα μη προδεξεσθαι μορου.

Chor. Το ποιου ευρων τηςδε Φαρμακου νοσου ;

Prom. Τυφλας ευ αυτοις ελπιδας κατωκισα.

Chor. Μεγ' ωφελημα τουτ' εδωρησω βροτοις.

Prom. Προς τοισδε μεντοι πυρ εγω σφιν ωπασα,
Αφ' ουγε πολλας εκμυθησονται τεχνας.

V. 246, 254.

† Περὶ δὲ τῆς πλαστικῆς, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησα, καὶ ῥος ἤδη λείπειν — ἦν τοίνυν παλαι (ῥα οὐ γὰρ οὕτω δῆλον αὖ γενοίτο, εἰ τι ἠδίκησα ἐγὼ μετακοσμήσας καὶ νεώτεριστας τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους) τὸ θεῖον μόνον καὶ τὸ ἐπουρανίου γένος — ἐγὼ δὲ — ἐννοήσα ὡς ἀμείνον εἴη, ὀλίγον ὅσον τοῦ πηλοῦ λαβόντα ζωὰ τινα ζυγίσασθαι, καὶ ἀναπλασάσας μορφὰς μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πρόσσειοκτα. *Lucian. Prometh. p. 194, 195. Vol. i. 4to. Ed. Amstelod.*

1743.

M

I AGREE with you, (returned He.) But then, if the State of human Life, such as it came in your Expression out of the hands of the Gods, wanted so much the inventive Genius of a *Prometheus*, to bring it to any tolerable Degree of comfortable Accommodation, as the whole Ground of the Mythos here supposes, the Mythologists must excuse us, if we take leave to qualify a little their usual Representations of the Age of these Gods upon Earth ; and whenever hereafter we find it spoken of as an Age of Gold, to understand this of its being *such only* in comparison with the more barbarous Ages preceeding it. And indeed, however little possibly it might be their Intention, under the very Ornaments of the Fable in this case they many times lead our Thoughts into the literal State and Circumstances of the History. Thus, when *Hesiod* says of the Heroes of this pretended golden Age, “ that they lived altogether without Care, Labour, or Anxiety, abounding in delicious Fruits, and supplied by the spontaneous Produce of the Earth with all things requisite for their liberal Sustenance * : ” — And in another place, after complaining of the Avarice of his

* Χρυσέων μὲν πρῶτιστα γένος μέροπων ἀνθρώπων.
 Ἀθάνατοι ποιεῖσάν — —

Ὅι μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύειν
 ὦλε

his own times, “ in which Men were Strangers to the Doctrine, how much better in many cases half is than the whole, and knew not what Happiness was contained in a Diet of Mallows and Asphodel,” when he tells us, “ that the Gods had hid from Mankind the true Means and Manner of living ever since *Prometheus* had deceived them ; otherwise, a Man might have gathered as much of the Fruits of the Ground in one Day, as would have supplied his Necessities for a Year, tho’ he should all the Remainder of that time have been intirely idle ; he would have had no Occasion either for Sailing or Agriculture †.”—Does he not to an attentive Observer suggest here,

M 2

that

Ὡς τε θεοὶ δ' ἐζῶν, ἀκῆδεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,

Νοσφιν ἀτερ πονῶν καὶ οἷζυος—

Ἀφνειοὶ μελοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι·

ἐσθλα δὲ πάντα

Τοῖσιν ἐνν, καρπὸν δ' ἐφέρει ζειδῶρος ἀρουρα

Αὐτομάτῃ πολλοῦ τε καὶ ἀφθονοῦ.

Op. & Di. v. 109, 119.

† Νηπιοὶ· οὐδ' ἴσασιν ὅσω πλεονήρϊσιν πάντος,
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μάλαχῃ τε, καὶ ἀσφοδελῷ μεγ' οὐειαρ·

Κρυφάντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισι·

Ρηιδίως γὰρ κεν καὶ ἐπ' ἡματι ἐρῶσαιο

Ὡς τε σὺ κ' εἰς ἐνὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν καὶ ἀερίου εὐντα·

Αἰψά κε πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνὸν καταθείο·

Ἔργα βῶν δ' ἀπολοῖτο καὶ ἡμιούων ταλαεργῶν·

Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐκρύψε, χολώσαμενος φρεσὶν ἥσιν,

Ὅτ' ἴ μιν ἐξαπαλήσει Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης·

Op. et Di. v. 39, 49.

that the Men of the times he is celebrating were in reality no better than a Set of simple and ill-accommodated Rovers upon the Face of the Earth, taking their temporary Settlements here and there, as their Necessities prompted them so to do, in different Parts of it? Depending altogether for their Subsistence on the Bounty of uncultivated Nature, and either living successively on the several wild Productions of the Ground, as they offered themselves in their respective Seasons, or at best, it may be, where they found more of any particular Kind of them, than would immediately answer their present Occasions, making some little Reserve thereof against future ones? And does he not on the whole of his Account put us rather upon considering it as the great Infelicity of their Age, that they wanted thus all the more improved Arts of Life, than any enviable Privilege of it, that they lived without them?

So that after all (said I) the Image, as I perceive, which *Homer* gives us of the Gods, when they are described by him as *περὶ ζωῆς*, “living wholly at their ease ||,” however designed by him as a high Compliment to the Felicity of their Condition, if traced to its historical Original in the Circumstances

cumstances of the times they lived in, has no more honourable a Foundation, than the extreme Indigence of it: and their being Strangers to all the Cares of Life proceeded only from their being such to all its more valuable Enjoyments.

UNDOUBTEDLY: (replied *Hortensius*) But *Homer*, you know, lived at a time, when all sober History of the first Ages of Civility in *Greece* had given place to panegyrical Romances concerning them. And accordingly we find *Hesiod*, a Writer, if not, as some have thought, Contemporary with *Homer*, yet in all Accounts of an Age not much inferior to him, so strenuously asserting the absolute Felicity of *Saturn's* days, in disparagement of all which had since succeeded them, that he makes *Prometheus*, in giving rise to the several later Improvements upon Life, to have given rise at the same time to all the Evil of it: which he expresses under the Mythos of *Jupiter's* sending down *Pandora* (the Protopopæa, it should seem, of more refined and artificial Manners in the World) to the Earth, immediately upon *Prometheus's* having stolen Fire from Heaven for the Use of Men, who had no sooner arrived amongst them, but uncovering a certain Vessel she had brought with her in her hands, she dispersed around her its mischievous Contents, which were
nothing

nothing less than the several Diseases, Cares, and Miseries which had ever since been the Portion of Human Kind *. The truth is, the Heroes of more remote Antiquity standing to our Poet in the Relation of so many established Divinities of his Country, he was to lose no Advantages which either precedent Tradition concerning them, or the Heightenings of his own Fancy, could give him, towards speaking of them in a manner becoming the present Dignity of their Character: Not to suggest, that the whole of his Acquaintance with Society having been formed in its maturer Age, he might possibly overlook in a great measure the several Infirmities necessarily connected with its infant State; and, being full of the Evils of his own times arising, as he might have observed, mostly from the more improved Luxuries of Life, forget to reflect on the many which would arise in those he figured to himself as golden ones, from a direct contrary

* Αλλα γυνη χειρεσσι πιθου μεγα πωμ' αφελουσα
Εσκειδατ', ανθρωποισι δ' εμνησατο κηδεα λυγρα·
Μουνη δ' αυτοθι Ελπις εν αρρηκτοισι δομοισι
Ενδον εμιμνε πιθου υπο χειλεσιν·
Αλλα δε μυριαλυγρα κατ' ανθρωπους αλαλησαι·
Πλεη μεν γαρ γαια κακων, πλεη δε θαλασσα·
Νουσοι δ' ανθρωποισιν εφ' ημερη, καδ' επι νυκτι,
Αυτοματοι φαιτωσι, κακα θνητοισι φερουσαι
Σιγη·

Ὅπως οὐ τι πῶν ἐστὶ Διὸς νοῦν ἐξάλασθαι·

Op. et Di. v. 94, 105.

contrary Quarter, the want of its most ordinary Accommodations. But not to dwell any longer, *Philemon*, on Reflections of this kind, which, however just and useful in themselves, are in great measure foreign to our present Design—if, on the whole of what has been now reported to you concerning *Prometheus*, it seems probable, as I think it does, that he is only the mythologic *Protopopæa* of Invention in ancient *Greece*, considered as having gradually improved the several rude Arts of social Life originally introduced there by its first Civilizers, his being delivered down to us, as the Author of roasting Animal Flesh for Food, gives us no certain *Æra* of this Practice amongst the *Greeks*; tho' at the same time, from its being left thus of undecided Antiquity with them, we may in general infer that it was of very great. And this perhaps is what the Comedian *Anthenio* is to be understood to mean, when, in a Fragment preserved to us of his Comedy of the *Samothracians*, he represents the Invention of the Art of Cookery amongst Mankind as what originally drew them off from a Life of Brutality and Barbarism. “ It is to this Art, says he, we are indebted for abolishing in the World the savage Practice, which of old prevailed, of Mens feeding on one another : In the times of this Practice some Person of a happier Turn of Thought, designing to
sacrifice

sacrifice a certain Animal to some of the Gods, contrived to roast it for that purpose; and having on this Occasion tasted its Flesh, and reporting it to be of a more agreeable Relish than that of Man, from henceforth the feeding on human Flesh became generally disused, and that of other Animals was substituted in its place, as the ordinary Diet of Mankind †." But whenever, or by whomsoever, the Practice of dressing Animal Flesh for Food was first introduced, either into *Greece*, or any of the other civilized Countries of the ancient Pagan World, with it stands every where connected the Practice of offering it to the Gods in Sacrifice: whilst yet in the very Conduct of this Rite of bloody Sacrifice, as
it

- † A. Οὐκ οἰσθ' ὅτι πάντων ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη
Πρὸς εὐσεβείαν πλείστα προσενηνεχθ' ὅλως;
B. Τοιούτων ἐστὶ τοῦτο; A. πάνυ γε βαρβαρε.
Τοῦ Θηριώδους, καὶ παρασπουδου βίου
Ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἀποκλυσάσα, καὶ τῆς δυσχεροῦς
Ἀλληλοφάγιας, ἡγαγ' εἰς τάξιν τινα,
Καὶ τοῦτον περιήψεν ὃν νυνὶ βίου
Ζῶμεν. B. τίνα τρόπου; A. προσέχε κα' γω σοὶ
Φράσω·
Ἀλληλοφάγιας, καὶ κακῶν οὐτῶν ζυχῶν,
Γενομένου ἀνθρώπου τίς οὐκ ἀβέλτερος
ἔθυσ' ἱερείου πρῶτος, ὡπλήντε κρέας·
Ὡς δ' ἢ νῦν το κρέας ἡδίου ἀνθρώπου κρέων,
Αὐτοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐμασῶντο, τὰ δὲ βοσκημάτων
Θιούτες ὡπτων.

Ex Anthen. apud Grot. Excerpt. p. 893.

it took place in the different Countries we are acquainted with, there appear evident Marks of its not having been the original Practice of Mankind from the time of their first Entrance into Society: For whence else was it, but from a Reverence to inanimate Sacrifice, as of prior Institution to animal, that, where the latter ever so generally prevailed in Antiquity, the former was thought necessary, to be, as it were, incorporated with it? Thus in *Herodotus's* Account of one of the principal Festivals of the *Egyptians*, celebrated to *Isis*, they filled, he tells us, the Body of the Bull used to be sacrificed to her upon this Occasion with Cakes of pure Wheat, Honey, dried Grapes, Figs, Frankincense, Myrrh, and other Perfumes *. And in the *Greek* and *Roman* Sacrifices, the Victim, you know, was always strewed over with Barley, Wheat, or Meal, before it was permitted to be slain; certain Molæ also, or Meal-Cakes, were to be presented upon the Altar, not only before the Portion

N

of

* Επην προσωσευσωσι τη Ισι, και επην κατευξωνται, θυουσιν την βων· και αποδειραντες κοιλην μεν κεινην πασαν εξω ειλον, ζπλαγχνα δε αυτου λειπουσι εν τω σωματι και την πιμελην· σκελεα δε αποταμνουσι, και την οσφυν ακρην, και τους ωμους τε, και του τραχηλου· ταυτα δε ποιησαντες, το αλλο ζωμα του βοος πιμπλασι αρτων καθαρων, και μελιτος, και ασαφιδος, και ζυκων, και λιθανωτου, και σμυρνης, και των αλλων θυωμάτων· πλησαντες δε τουτων, καταγιζοσι, ελαιον αφθειου καταχεοντες· Herod. Euterp. cap. 41.

of Flesh assigned to the Gods was cast into the Fire, but likewise afterwards, as the concluding Article of the Sacrific Ceremo-ny †: the Ancients seeming to have held of the Meal in this Case, what *Antiphanes* in his *Myſtis* observes of Frankincense under the like Application of it, that even a He-catomb itself would be a mere vain Obla-tion in the Sight of the Gods, unless it came recommended to their Acceptance by this cheap, but, it seems, important Addi-tion to it ‡.

AN excellent Contrivance this, (said I) *Hortensius*, of the Pagan Priests, as I ima-gine, to keep up in Mens Minds a proper Reverence for the sacrificial Institutions of more remote Antiquity, at the same time that they seem every where to have almost universally departed from thence in their Practice, from the earliest Accounts we have of their Proceedings in this Affair of their Sacri-

† Ὅθεν ἐστὶ καὶ νυν πρὸς τῷ τελεί τῶν θυηλῶν τοῖς ψαισθεῖσι θυλημασι χρωμεθα· μαρτυροῦντες μὲν τῷ πρᾶτ-τομένῳ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν θυμιαμάτων αὐξήσιν. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 55.

‡ Ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γὰρ·
Τεχμηρίον δ' ὅταν γὰρ ἑκατομβᾶς τινες
θύωσι, ταῦταις καὶ λιθάνωτος ἐπετυθῇ·
Ὡς τ' ἄλλα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ νουλαομένα
Δεκτανὴν ματαίαν οὖσαν, αὐτῶν ὄνεκα,
Τὸ δὲ μικρὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἀρεστον τοῖς θεοῖς.

Apud Grot. Exc. p. 617.

Sacrifices. For tho', 'tis true, we hear much in ancient Writers of a Tradition that inanimate Sacrifice only was once the general Usage of Mankind, yet the Sacrifices which we find any where described by these Writers, as in fact subsisting amongst them, within their own Knowledge, are in a manner all of the animal Kind.

THEY are so, (reply'd He;) and this under such a whimsical Variety of Prescriptions as to the Species, Sex, Age, Colour, and other Qualities of the Animal required to be sacrificed to this or that particular Deity, as likewise with regard to the time and manner of sacrificing it, that in nothing, as I observed in the beginning of this Conversation, has Superstition exercised a more wanton Tyranny over the Minds of its deluded Votaries in the ancient Pagan World, than in the Article now before us. I shall forbear however to enter into Particulars here, *Philemon*: You have already yourself hinted at the Reason of these Distinctions; and the circumstantial History of them is at large collected in almost all the Writers of Pagan Antiquities. What will be of more Use, I apprehend, to our present Design is to observe, how the same mistaken way of thinking concerning the Gods, in the ruder and more ignorant Ages of Mankind, which led them to offer Sacrifice

to them at first, as we have all along supposed, in the way of Gratitude for past Favours, would in time naturally put them upon doing so too in order to obtain future ones ; as likewise to deprecate the Effects of their Displeasure, as often as they esteemed themselves to have offended them. Now these, you know, were the three great Motives to all the Pagan Sacrifices.

AND they have all of them, (said I) I see very clearly, their Foundation in that Prejudice you have supposed natural to those weak and injudicious Reasoners, who were the Authors of the Rite under Consideration, of fancying the Objects of their Worship to be altogether of like Passions with themselves.

THIS (reply'd He) was most unquestionably the Original of the whole Practice of sacrificing in the World. Nevertheless what began in mere Ignorance and Mistake was afterwards greatly forwarded amongst Mankind by Craft and Imposture. The Priests who served at the Pagan Altars every where encouraged, as they had a great Interest to do, the fond Prejudice we are speaking of, till by degrees they had refined Sacrifice into a regular Art, and adjusted the precise Terms of Negotiation between Heaven

Heaven and Earth under almost all the possible Exigencies of Human Affairs.

THIS Notion (said I) is finely railled by *Lucian* in his Discourse of Sacrifices. Give me leave to turn to the Place. “ The Gods, then, says He, it seems, do nothing for Mankind of their own free Grace and Bounty, but sell all their Favours to them at a set Price. Thus, it may be, a Man shall buy Health of them for a single Heifer; but if he would be rich, the Terms are four Oxen; if he aspires to Empire, an Hecatombe. The Purchase of a safe Return from *Troy* to *Pyle* is nine Bulls; but that of a fair Wind from *Aulis* to *Ilium* a King’s Daughter. It stood *Hecuba* once in the Expence of twelve Oxen, and a rich Veil, consecrated to *Minerva*, to prevent the taking of her Capital by *Diomed*. And there are, I suppose, many things to be obtained of the Gods for the Consideration only of a Cock, a Garland, or a little Frankincense*.”

THIS

* Οὕτως οὐδὲν, ὥς εἰκεν, ἀμισθὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὧν ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ Πωλοῦσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ γαθα· καὶ ἐνεστὶ Πριασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν, εἰ τυχοί, Βοῖδιον, τὸ δὲ πλοῦτειν, βῶων τετάρων, τὸ δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἑκατὸμβης· τὸ δὲ ζῶων ἐπανελθεῖν ἐξ Ἰλίου εἰς Πύλον, ταυρῶν ἑννεα· καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Αὐλίδος εἰς Ἰλίον Διαπλευσαι, παρθένου βασιλικῆς· ἥ μὲν γὰρ Ἑκὰβη τὸ μὴ αλῶναι τότε τὴν Πόλιν ἐπρίατο παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βῶων Δωδεκα, καὶ πεπλου· εἰκαζειν δὲ χρῆ πολλὰ εἶναι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνος,

καὶ

THIS Persuasion (said He) of the Gods being no otherwise to be kept upon any tolerable Terms of Friendship with Mankind but by certain seasonable Applications to their Interests, prevailed so much, we find, in *Homer's* Days in the Pagan World, that if at any time they fell into any unlooked-for Calamity, they were wont to ascribe it to the Chastisement of some Deity, whose Altar had been defrauded by them of its due Complement of Victims. Thus, you know, upon the Plague's breaking out in the *Grecian* Camp in the first *Iliad*, when *Achilles* had called a Council of *Greeks* to enquire concerning the Cause of, and Means of averting it, his first Thought is, that it was the Infliction of *Apollo* for some Breach of Vow they stood guilty of towards him, or the Failure of some expected Hecatomb: and the most likely Method of removing it he suggests to be, that they should forthwith celebrate a solemn Sacrifice to this incensed Divinity †.

THE History, (said I) *Hortensius*, of this Pestilence is so humourously represented by the

και στεφανου, και λιθανωτου μουου παρ' αυτοις ωνια.
Lucian. de Sac. p. 527. 528. Vol. I. 4to. 1743.

† Ειτ' αρ' ογ' ευχολης επιμεμφεται, ειθ' εκατομβης,
Αι κεν πως αρνων κνισσης, αιγωντε τελειων,
Βουλευται αντιχσας ημιν απο λοιγον αμυναι.

Il. I. v. 65—6—7.

the Author but now quoted, in the very next Passage to that I was reading to you, that I cannot forbear going on with him. “ This Doctrine,” (of the Gods doing nothing for Mankind but for Interest) “ was, no doubt, well understood by *Chryses*, he being of the Priesthood, a Person of Age, and one much experienced in sacred Matters : For, no sooner had he applied without Success to *Agamemnon* for the Restoration of his Captive Daughter, but, being conscious to himself that he had established a good Fund of Interest in *Apollo*, he immediately calls upon him for Revenge ; demanding it at his hands as a Debt due to him in consideration of the many Services he had done this his Patron God, and scarcely indeed containing himself on this Occasion within the Bounds of Decency. Good *Apollo* ! says he, here have I bestowed so many Garlands upon your Shrine, which till my time used to stand unornamented, and burnt the Thighs of so many Bulls and Goats upon your Altar, and you now sit wholly unconcerned to see me thus ill treated by the *Grecian* Chief, and make no account of your old Friend and Benefactor ! Whereupon, so utterly did he put the God to shame by these Remonstrances, that having snatched up his Bow and Arrows, and taken a convenient Station over the *Greek* Fleet, he fell to shooting every thing

thing he could meet with in the Camp of the *Grecians*, not suffering their very Mules and Dogs to escape his Vengeance *."

* Ταυτα δε, οιμαι, και Χρυσης επισταμενος, ατε ιερευσ, και γερων, και τα θεια σοφος, επειδη απρακλος αππει παρα του Αγαμεμνονος, ως αν και προδανεισας τω Απολλωνι την χαριν, δικαιολογείται, και απαιτει την αμοιβην, και μουν ουκ ονειδιζει, λεγων, ω Βελτις' Απολλον, εγω μεν σου του νεων, τews ασεφανωτου οντα; πολλακις εσεφανωσα· και τοσαυτα ροι μηρια ταυρων τε και αιγων εκαυσα επι των βωμων· συ δε αμελεις μου τοιαυτα πεπονθοτος, και παρ' ουδεν τιθεσαι τον ευεργετην· τοιγαρουν ουτω κατεδυσωπησεν αυτον εκ των λογων, ως ε αρπασαμενος τα τοξα, και υπερ του ναυσαθμου καθισας εαυτον, κατετοξευσε τω λοιμω τους Αχαιους, αυτοις ημιονοις και κυσιν. Luc. de Sac. p. 528.

The Allusion here is to the following Passage of Homer.

Κλυθι μεν, Αργυροτοξ' ος Χρυσην αμφιβεβυκας,
Κιλλαν τε ζαθενν, Τενεδοιο τε ιφι ανασσεις,
Σμινθευ· ειωοτε τοι χαριεντ' επι νηου ερεψα,
Η ει δη ωοτε τοι κατα ωιονα μηρι' εκηα
Ταυρων, ηδ' αιγων, τοδε μοι κρηνηνν εελδωρ
Τιτειαν Δαναοι εμα δακρυα ροισι βελεσσιν·
Ωε εφατ' ευχομενος· του δ' εκλυε φοιβος Απολλων·
Βη δε κατ' Ουλυμποιο κερνηνν χωομενος κηρ,
Τοξ' ωμοισιν εχων, αμφηρεφεα τε φαρετρην·
Εκλαξαν δ' αρ' οις· οι επ' ωμων χωομενοιο
Αυτου κινηθεντος· ο δ' ηϊε νυκτι εοικως·
Εξετ' επειτ' απανευθε νεων, μετα δ' ιον εηκε
Δεινη δε κλαγλη γενετ' αργυροιο βιοιο·
Ουρηας· μεν πρωτον επωχετο, και κυνας αρλους·
Αυτορ επειτ' αυτοισι βελος εχεπευκας εφειεις
Βαλλ· κειι δε πυραι νεκυνν καιουτο θαρμειαι.

Iliad. i. v. 37—52.

THE

THE frequent Occurrence (resumed *Horatensius*) of the Doctrine we are here speaking of in the Writings of the ancient *Greek* Poets was doubtless amongst the Reasons which induced *Plato* to banish the reading of them from his Model of a Commonwealth, as tending to possess Men's Minds with Opinions concerning the Gods subversive of all Justice and Honesty in their mutual Intercourses. For thus he introduces *Adimantus* reasoning on this Subject, in the second Book of his Republic. After pleading for some time in behalf of Fraud, as a more eligible Scheme of Conduct to Mankind than Fair-dealing, when he comes to urge an Objection to this Doctrine from the Consideration, that, however the Villain might elude the Eye, or resist the Course of human Justice, he had yet every thing to apprehend from Divine, he answers it in the following manner. —“ If it be true that there are Gods, and that they interest themselves in human Affairs, I would ask, how is it we come to know this, but from the sacred Traditions, and the Genealogies which the Poets have given us of these Gods? Now the same Authorities tell us, that the Gods are of such a Nature, as to be capable of being influenced by Sacrifices, and Vows, and Presents from Mankind: We must then believe both Parts of the Account

O

here,

here, or neither ; if we believe both, then the Consequence is, we may commit what Acts of Injustice we please, for any thing which should restrain us on the part of the Gods, seeing they may at any time be brought over to our side by giving them a sufficient Portion of the Fruits of our Villainy *.”

THIS (said I) was so obvious a way of reasoning upon the established Principles of the Pagan Theology, that our Philosopher should have banished the Gods themselves, as well as the Poets, from his Republic, if he meant effectually to guard against it. For upon no other Footing could he possibly maintain the Doctrine which he makes *Socrates* deliver in a Discourse with *Alci- biades*, “ that it would be a Thought most unworthy of the Gods, to conceive of them as regarding only what Gifts and Sacrifices should be offered to them by any Person, and not attending to the Disposition of his Mind,

* Αλλά δη Θεους ουτε λανθάνειν ουτε βιάζεσθαι δύνα-
ται.—ει δε εισι τε και επιμελούμαι, ουκ αλλοθεν τοι
αυτους ισμεν η ακηκοαμεν, η εκ τε των λογων, και των
γενεαλογησαντων ποιητων· Οι δε αυτοι ουτοι λεγουσιν,
ως εισιν οιοι θυσιας τε και ευχωλαις αγανησι, και ανα-
θημασι παραγεσθαι αναπειθομενοι· οίς η αμφοτερα η
ουδετερα πεισσει· ει δ' ουκ πεισσει, αδικησει, και θυ-
τειν απο των αδικηματων. Plat. de Rep. Lib. 2. p.
365. Serran.

Mind, whether all was holy and upright there ; a Matter they certainly laid a greater Strefs upon, than the Costliness of solemn Processions and Sacrifices, which there was nothing to hinder the very worst and wickedest, whether of private Men, or Communities, from performing every Year with great Punctuality. But the Gods, being above the Temptation of a Bribe, despised all these things †.”

VERY different Reasoning this (said *Hortensius*) from what he puts into the Mouth of *Glauco*, another of the Speakers in the second Book of his Republic, who there argues, “ that the Villain had it in his power to make himself dearer to the Gods than the honest Man, by being, as might naturally be expected of him, more profuse and magnificent in his Sacrifices and Donations to them, and a more exact Observer of all religious Forms and Ceremonies *.” But this

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after

† Και γαρ δεινον αν ειη, ει προς τα δωρα, και τας θυσιας, αποβλεπουσιν ημην οι θεοι, αλλα μη προς την ψυχην, αν τις οσιος και δικαιος ων τυγχανη· πολλω μαλλον, οιμαι, η προς τας πολυτελεις ταυτας πομπας τε, και θυσιας, ας ουδεν κωλυει πολλα μεν εις θεους, πολλα δ' εις ανθρωπους ημαρτηκοτας, και ιδιωτην, και πολιν, εχειν αν' εκαστον ετος τελειν· οι δε, ατε ου δωροδοκοι ουτε, καταφρονουσιν απαντων τουτων. Plat. Alcibiad. 2. p. 149, 150. Serran.

* Θεοις θυσιας, και αυθηματα, ικανως και μεγα-

λαπρεπως

after all is true orthodox Paganism, and what the Bulk of Mankind in the Pagan World liyed and acted upon †; and that to a degree which made our Philosopher enact it as a Law of his imaginary Commonwealth, “that no Person should be at liberty to have any private Chapel within his own House, but whoever was minded to sacrifice should do it publickly; for this, amongst other Reasons, that evil Men might not be encouraged to proceed in their Wickedness by having it in their power, whenever they had committed any dishonest Act, to run immediately to some private Altar, and there expiate the Guilt of it in secret *.”

CICERO

λοπρεπώς θύειν τε, και ανατιθεναι, και θεραπευειν του Δικαιου πολυ αμεινον τους θεους·—— ωστε και θεοφιλεστερον αυτον ειναι μαλλον προστηκειν εκ των εικοτων η του δικαιου. De Rep. 2. p. 362. Ser.

† Αγυρται δε και μαντεις επι πλουσιων θυρας ιοντες πειθουσιν ως εστι παρχ σφισι δυνamis εκ θεων ποριζομενη θυσιας τε και επωδαις, ειτε τι αδικημα του γεγονεν αυτου, η προγονων, ακεισθαι μεθ' ηδονων τε και εορτων και εαν τιν' εχθρον πημηναι εβελη, μετ' εμικρων θ'απανων ομοιως δικαιου αδικω βλαψει. — Πειθοντες ου μονου ιδιωτας, αλλα και πολεις, Ως αρχ λυσεις τε και καθαρμοι αδικημάτων δια θυσιων, και παιδιας ηδονων· εισι δη μεν επι ζωσι, εισι δε και τελευτησασιν, ως τελετας καλουσιν, αι των εκει κακων απολυουσιν ημας, μη θυσαντας δε δεινα περιμενει. De Rep. p. 364, 365. Serran.

* Εγω γαρ νομος οδε τοις ξυμπασι κειμενος απλως· Ιερα μηδε εις εν ιδιαις οικiais εκτησθω· θυειν δ' οταν επι

νουν

CICERO (said I) in his excellent Treatise of Laws expressly forbids wicked Persons to bring Gifts to the Altars of the Gods under a Nōtion of atoning thereby for their Crimes, directing them to consider what *Plato* had delivered upon this Subject, who argues, that as no good Man would suffer himself to accept a Présent at the hands of a known Villain, much less could this be supposed concerning the Gods †.

THE more wise and thinking Pagans (said I) were doubtless all of them of this Opinion, as indeed it was scarce possible for them to be otherwise. But the popular and philosophic Creed in this matter was of a very different Stamp. In the vulgar Estimation of things, supported but too much by those who should have taught Men better, the Gods

νοῦν ἢ τιμῇ, πρὸς τὰ δημοσὶα ἰτὼ θύσων—ὧν ἐνεκα χρη πάντων ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον νομὸν· πρὸς τοῦτοις δέ, ἐνεκα τῶν ἀσεβούντων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα κλεπτοῦντες πρᾶξουσιν, ἡέρα τε καὶ βώμους ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἰδρύμενοι, λαθρα τοὺς θεοὺς ἱλεῶς οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχαίς, εἰς ἀπειρὸν τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐξάνουσαι κ τ λ. Plat. de Leg. 10. p. 961. Ser.

‡ Donis impii ne placare quidem audeant Deos. Platonem audiant, qui vetat dubitare quâ sit mente futurus Deus, cum nemo vir bonus ab improbo se donari velit. De Leg. Lib. 2. cap. 16. Davies. Παρα δὲ μιᾶρου δῶρα οὐτ' ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν, οὔτε θεοῦ ἐστὶ πότε τογὲ ἄρθου δεχέσθαι· μάτην οὖν περὶ θεοὺς ὁ πολὺς ἐστὶ πόνος τοῖς ἀνοστοῖς. Plat. Leg. Lib. 4. p. 716. Serran.

Gods were considered as entirely governed by Interest in their Conduct towards Mankind, independently on all scrupulous Regard to personal Merit. A private Man, or a Community, might purchase any Favour they should request of them by coming up to its Price; and if either the one, or the other, had incurred their Displeasure, a Pardon might be obtained, and their Resentments entirely pacified, by a proper Sacrifice of Expiation. Sometimes a single Victim would serve the Turn: at others, it was necessary to offer several of the same kind: at others, the Sacrifice was to consist of a certain Number of Animals of a different Species: at others, lastly, nothing was to be done but at the Expence of shedding human Blood. Ancient History is full of dreadful Examples to this purpose: at some Altars it was even a periodical Practice; at great Numbers an occasional one. We have Accounts of it, in one or the other of these ways, in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Persia*; in the Islands of *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Tenedos*, and *Crete*; in *Ionia*, *Scythia*, *Thrace*; at *Carthage*, *Sparta*, *Athens*, and according to *Phylarchus*, an Historian referred to by *Porphyrus* upon this Subject, all over *Greece*; in *Britain*, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*; not excepting, as *Tertullian* speaks, “ The pious Descendents
of

of *Æneas*, in the most religious City of Rome itself *.”

A PRACTICE of this nature (said I) could never, I should think, be at all familiar with the *Romans*, however they might be driven to it upon some extraordinary Emergencies. *Plutarch*, I remember, in his Life of *Marcellus*, where he gives us an Account of their burying alive four Persons, a *Greek*, and a *Gaul* of each Sex, in the *Forum Boarium*, upon the Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Etruria*, represents them as submitting to this cruel Rite with Reluctance, and in obedience merely to an Order to this purpose from the Sibylline Books †. And *Livy*, in like manner, when he tells us they did

* Vid. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 93—4—5. Grot. Op. Theolog. Tom. 3. p. 335, 336. Remitto Tauricas fabulas theatris suis. Ecce in illâ religiosissimâ urbe *Æneadarum* Piorum Jupiter est quidam, quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine. Tertull. Apologet. p. 9. Edit. Rigault.

† Εδήλου δε και του Φοβου αυτων η τε παρασκευη — και τα περι τας θυσιας καινολομουμενα· βαρβαρικον μιν ουδεν, ουδ' εκφυλον, επιηδυνοντες, αλλ' ως ενι μαλιστα ταις δοξαις Ελληνικως διακειμενοι, και πρωως προς τα θεια, τοτε του πολεμου Συμπεσοντας ηναγκασθησαν ειξαι λογίοις τισιν εκ των Σιβυλλειων, δυο μιν Έλληνας, ανδρα και γυναικα, δυο δε Γαλατας όμοιως εν τη καλουμενη βωων αγορα κατορυξαι ζωντας· όις επι και νυν εν τω Νεομβριω μηνι δρωσιν Έλλησι και Γαλαταις απερρητους και αθεατους ιερουργίας. Plut. in Marcello. p. 299. Xyl. Edit.

did the same thing after the ill Success of their Affairs at *Cannæ*, styles it, “ *Sacrum* “ *minimè Romanum*,” a Ceremony of Religion by no means in the *Roman Taste* *.

You are aware (replied He) of the annual Custom at *Rome*, observed there with great Solemnity, of throwing thirty Figures in human Shape into the *Tiber*, in the place of so many living Men, who used of old to be sacrificed in that manner to *Saturn* †. And *Macrobius* relates, that when *Tarquin* the

* Q. Fab. Pictor Delphos ad Oraculum missus est, sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicisque Deos possent placare, & quænam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta: inter quæ Gallus & Galla, Græcus & Græca, in foro Boario sub terrâ vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conseptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum. Liv. Lib. 22. cap. 57.

† Λεγουσι δε και τας Θυσιας επιτελειν τω Κρονω τους παλαιους, ὡς περ εν Καρχηδονι, τῶς ἢ πόλιν διεμενε, και παρὰ Κελτοις εις τοδε χρονου γινεται, και εν αλλοις τισι των ἐσπεριων εθνων, ανδροφονους. Ἡρακλεα δε παυσαι τον νομον της Θυσιας βουληθεντα, τον τε βωμον ιδρυσασθαι τον επι τῳ Σατορνιω, καταρξασθαι θυματων σιγνων και καθαρω πυρι ἄζομενων· ἵνα δε μηθεν ειη τοις ανθρωποις ενθυμιον, ὡς πατριων ηλογηκοσι θυσιων, διδασθαι τους επιχωριους απομειλιττομενους την του θεου μνην, αντι των ανθρωπων, οὗς ζυμποδιζοντες, και των χειρων ακρατεις ποιουντες ερριπλουν ες το Τιβεριοις ρειθρον, ειδωλα ποιουντες ανδρεικελα κεκοσμημενα τον αυτον εκεινους τροπον, εμβαλειν εις τον ποταμον, ἵνα δη το της ὀτλειας

the Proud renewed the *Ludi Compitales*, a Festival first instituted by *Servius Tullius*, to the Honor of the deceased Ancestors of the Roman People, for the Safety of the several Families in *Rome*, an Oracle of *Apollo* directed that an Offering should be made to the Gods called *Lares*, and their Mother *Mania*, of a certain Number of Heads, in order to render them propitious to the several Heads, or Persons, in each Family: But that, upon the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, *Brutus* the Consul, taking advantage of the equivocal Sense of the word Heads in the Oracle, instead of the Heads of Children, who hitherto had been put to Death upon this Occasion, ordered the Sacrifice to consist for the future of certain Heads of Garlic only and Poppies†. Moreover, *Pliny* acquaints us, that, in the Year of *Rome* six hundred and fifty-

ὅτ' ἔλας ὅ τι δὴ ποτε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντῶν ψυχαῖς παρα-
 μένου ἐξαίρεθῃ, τῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἐθνὸς σωζομένων·
 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διετελοῦν Ῥωμαῖοι ὁρώτες, ὅσον
 τι μικροῦ ὕστερον ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας, ἐν μηνὶ Μαίῳ ταῖς
 καλούμεναις ἰδοῖς, διχομηνίᾳ βουλομένοι ταυτὴν εἶναι
 τὴν ἡμέραν. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. i. p. 30.

† Hic Albinus Cecinna subjecit: qualem nunc permutationem sacrificii prætextate memorasti, invenio postea compitalibus celebratam, cum Ludi per urbem in compitis agitabantur, restituti scilicet a Tarquinio Superbo Laribus ac Maniæ; ex responso Apollinis, quo præceptum est ut pro capitibus supplicaretur. Idque aliquandiu observatum, ut pro familiarium fospitate pueri mactarentur Maniæ Dææ, matri Larium. Quod
 P sacri-

fifty-seven, a Decree passed in the Senate prohibiting human Sacrifice ; which till then, he observes, had been openly practised there †.

THIS however, shews, (said I) it was abolished at *Rome* long before the time of *Tertullian*, who lived some Centuries after the passing of the Decree here spoken of. Nor can it be imagined, that *Cicero* in his Oration for *Fonteius*, “accused,” says the late learned and polite Writer of the Life of *Cicero*, “by the Province of *Narbonese Gaul*, where he had been three Years Prætor, of great Oppression and Exactions in his Government,” have urged it in Exception to the Credit of the Witnesses against his Client in this Cause, that they were of a Nation infamous for polluting the Altars of the Gods with human Sacrifices, and thinking they were to be appeased by Cruelty and human Blood ||, if the Romans at this time had not been themselves entirely reproachless upon that Head,

YET

sacrificii genus Junius Brutus Consul Tarquinio pulso aliter constituit celebrandum : nam capitibus allii & papaveris supplicari jussit, ut responso Apollinis satisfaceret de nomine capitum, remoto scilicet scelere infaustæ significationis. Macrobian. Saturnal. Lib. 1. cap. 7.

† Anno urbis 657, Corn. Lentulo & Licinio Crasso Coss. Senatus consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palamque in illud tempus sacra prodigiosa celebrata. Plin. Lib. 30. cap. 1.

|| History of the Life of *Cicero*, Vol. 1. p. 115, 116.

Y E T, 'tis remarkable, (returned He) *Tertullian* is by no means single in his Testimony to the shedding of human Blood at *Rome*, as an Act of Religion, during the Celebration there of the *Feriæ Latinæ*. These, you may remember, were a Festival instituted by *Tarquinius Superbus*, upon a League of Amity's being formed between the *Romans*, and their Neighbours the *Latines*, *Volsi*, and *Hernicians*, to *Jupiter*; under the Epithet of *Latialis*, or the Protector of *Latium**: And here, as I said, *Tertullian* is by no means the only Writer, who speaks of Homicide as making part of the Worship of this Deity: *Minucius Felix*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius* all say the same thing†; as does moreover *Porphry*, a Pa-
gan

116. Cic. Orat. pro M. Fonteio. Quis enim ignorat, eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandum? quamobrem, quali fide, quali pietate, existimatis eos esse, qui etiam Deos immortales arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari. Cum his vos testibus vestram religionem conjungetis? ab his quidquam sancte aut moderate dictum putabitis? cap. 11.

* Dionys. Hal. Lib. 4. p. 250.

† Hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur. Min. Fel. p. 365. Paris. Quid ipse Jupiter noster? — cum Latiaris cruore perfunditur. Ibid. 351. Arnob. advers. Gentes. Lib. 7. — Nec Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Latialis Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano — de barbaris non est adeo mirandum, quorum religio cum moribus congruit. Nostri vero qui semper man-

gan Writer, in his second Treatise of Abstinence from Animal-Food, and this in very strong Terms †. What I suppose may be the truth of the Case here is, that the Practice complained of was not so properly a Sacrifice as an Execution: A Punishment inflicted at the time of these *Feriæ* upon some Criminal or Malefactor, who was condemned to be put to Death by wild Beasts, as a part of the Shews used to be exhibited upon this Occasion; some Portion of whose Blood however was probably carried to the Statue of the *Latian Jupiter*, and poured forth upon it *. And thus, *Philemon*, you have heard what was the Rise and Progress of Sacrifice in Pagan Antiquity. It began in the Oblation of inanimate Things only, whilst such only were in

suetudinis & humanitatis gloriam sibi vindicarunt, nonne sacrilegis his sacris immaniores reperiuntur? *Lactant. de falsâ Religione. Lib. 1. cap. 21.*

† Ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν, τίς ἀγνοεῖ, κατὰ τὴν μεγαλήν πόλιν, τὴ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Διὸς ἑορτῇ, σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον; *Porph. de Abst. Lib. 2. p. 95.*

* Ecce in illâ religiosissimâ urbe Æneadarum Piorum Jupiter est quidam quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine. Sed Bestiarii inquitis——Hoc opinor minus quam hominis: an hoc turpius quod mali hominis? certe tamen de homicidio funditur. *Tertull. Apologet. p. 9. Rigault. Hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter homicidio colitur; & quod Saturni Filio dignum est mali & noxii hominis sanguine saginatur. Min. Fel. p. 365—6. Cum Latiaris cruore perfunditur. ibid. 351. Et Latio ad hodiernum diem Jovi media in urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur. Tertul. Scorpiace. p. 493. Rigault.*

in use with Mankind for Food ; from thence it proceeded to the offering up the Flesh of Animals ; and by degrees in many Cases to that of Men. The Grounds of this Practice in general we have agreed to be laid in Mens thinking their Gods to be altogether of like Passions with themselves. And that this is the very truth of the Case may, I think, be still farther confirmed to us by observing, that the History of modern Paganism in the Article before us is altogether analogous to that of ancient. “ The things” says *Garcilasso de La Vega*, in a Passage of his *Peruvian Commentaries* now before me, “ which the *Indians* offered to the Sun were of divers sorts. The chief and principal Sacrifice was that of Lambs ; but besides they offered all sorts of Cattle, and Birds which were eatable, the Fat of Beasts, Pulse, all sorts of Grain, the Herb *Cuca*, even Cloaths of the best and finest sorts : all which they burnt in the place of Incense, rendering Thanks and Acknowledgments to the Sun, for having sustained and nourished all those things for the Use and Support of Mankind. They used also Drink-Offerings, which were made of Water and Mayz, which is their sort of Wheat ; and at the End of their usual Meals, when Drink was brought, (for they did never use to drink between their Eatings) at their first Draught they dipped the Tip of their
Finger

Finger in the Middle of the Cup, and looking up to Heaven with great Reverence, with a Fillip they spirted off the Drop of Water which wetted their Finger, which was by way of Acknowledgment for it to the Sun, rendering him Thanks for the Water they drank ||.”——In another place he tells us, that the *Inca Viracocha* after obtaining a certain Victory over the *Chancas*, sent notice of it to the Sun; “for tho’, says he, they esteemed the Sun for a God, yet in all respects they treated him as a Man, and as one who had need of Intelligence and Information of Matters which succeeded: besides which, they formed other gross Conceptions of him; as to drink to him; and that he might pledge them again, on their Festival-Days they filled a golden Cup with Liquor, which they set in a Part of the Temple, which was most open to the Sun-Beams, and what was exhaled by that Heat they judged to be drank by the Sun: they also set Meat for him to eat.”—† And that, agreeably to what has been said concerning the ancient Pagans, those of *Peru*, at least before the Days of their *Incas*, and those of *Mexico*, even at the time of the *Spaniards* conquering their Country, practised human Sacrifices of the most execrable Kind, is a Matter of Fact universally agreed to

|| Royal Commentaries of *Peru* of *Garcilasso de La Vega* translat. by Sir *Paul Rycaut*, Book 2. Chap. 4.

† Roy. Com. Book 5. Chap. 19.

to by the Writers of *American History* †. The like Accounts to these are given us of some other Parts of the World, where Paganism yet

† Roy. Com. Book 1. Chap. 4. Book 2. Chap. 4. Acoſta's nat. and mor. Hiſt. of the Indies, Book 5. Chap. 4. Book 7. Chap. 6. alſo Chap. 13. and 19. They of *Mexico* have exceeded them (the *Peruvians*) yea all Nations in the World in the great number of Men which they have ſacrificed, and in the horrible Manner thereof. — The Manner of theſe Sacrifices to *Vitzliputzli* was, they aſſembled ſuch as ſhould be ſacrificed within the Palliſado of Skulls.—A Prieſt came from the Temple, and getting upon a Stone in the Court of it, ſhewed the Idol to the Victims, ſaying, This is your God!—There were fix Sacrificers appointed to theſe Dignities; four to hold the Hands and Feet of him that was to die, a fifth to hold his Head, and a ſixth to open his Stomach and pull out his Heart.—This was eſteemed the Sovereign Prieſt and Biſhop.—The High Prieſt opened each of the Perſons Stomachs with a Knife, with a ſtrange Dexterity and Nimbleneſs, pulling out the Heart, which he ſhewed ſmoking unto the Sun, to whom he did offer this Heat and Fume of the Heart, and preſently he turned towards the Idol, and did caſt the Heart at his Face. Then they caſt away the Body of the Sacrificed, tumbling it down the Stairs of the Temple with a Spurn of their Foot. In this ſort, one after another, did they ſacrifice all that were appointed. Acoſta 5. 20. ſee alſo 21, 22. Some Nations of theſe (the *Indians* of *Peru*) offered not only their Enemies, but on ſome Occaſions their very Children to theſe Idols. The Manner of theſe Sacrifices was to rip open their Breſts whiſt they were alive, and ſo tear out their Heart and Lungs, with the Blood of which, whiſt warm, they ſprinkled their Idols—then they burnt the Entrails, and eat the Fleſh themſelves with great Joy and Feſtivity, tho' it were of their own Child, or other Relation of the ſame Blood. Royal Comment. Book 1. Chap. 4. See alſo Book 6. Chap. 30, and 31.

yet takes place, by Persons who have had Opportunity to visit them. — As to the Dedication of what the Ancients call *αγασματα*, sacred Presents of various kinds to the Gods, such as Crowns, Garlands, Vestments, Plate, Pieces of Painting, Statues, Sculptures, and the like, the Reason of this whole Practice is in general so much the same with that of the Rite of Sacrifice we have been discoursing of, that I shall content myself with just hinting this Observation thus at large to your Thoughts, and leave it to you to apply it, as you may have Opportunity or Disposition for so doing. And here we might change the Scene, *Philemon*, and, from the Consideration of Sacrifices, proceed to that of some other Articles of practical Superstition in the ancient Pagan World. But enough at one time of this Subject.

F I N I S.

